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BELL'S HANDBOOKS TO
CONTINENTAL CHURCHES

MONT SAINT-MICHEL

SHORT HISTORY & DESCRIPTION F THE CHURCH & ABBEY OF

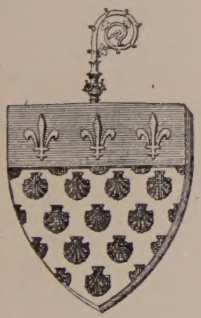
MONT S. MICHEL

TH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN AND FORTRESS

BY

H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A.

AUTHOR OF THE HANDBOOKS TO CHARTRES, GLOUCESTER, BRISTOL, AND TEWKESBURY

WITH XLIX  ILLUSTRATIONS

ARMS OF THE ABBEY

ONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS 1902

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PREFACE

It has been impossible in many ways for me to keep the treatment of Mont S. Michel quite in line with that of the other subjects of the series. The place is unique, and must be treated exceptionally. I must thank the Commission des Monuments Historiques and M. Paul Gout for allowing me access to every part of the building; the *entrepreneur*, M. Le Bailly, for his courteous help on the spot, willingly and readily given; and the small corps of well-informed guides. In assuming that most visitors to the Mount can read, if they cannot talk, French, I have quoted from various authorities, such as Dom Huynes, Dom Le Roy, the "Chronique de Robert de Torigni," on points of interest, and would refer them generally to the writings of Viollet-le-Duc, M. Corroyer, and M. Paul Gout; for fiction to Victor Hugo's "Quatre-vingt-treize," "Les Misérables," Paul Féval's "La Fée des Grèves," and "Les Merveilles du Mont S. Michel"; and for the cult of S. Michel, to the exhaustive work of the Abbé Brin.

For those who can read old French I would suggest the study of the "Roman du Mont S. Michel," by Guillaume de Saint-Pair, a monk contemporary with Robert de Torigni.

In conclusion, I must quote in full the preface of Dom Le Roy, prefixed to his work, "Les Curieuses Recherches."

Lector amice, vides nostri quæ causa laboris,
Quisve animus fuerit, Tumbæ dum singula Montes

Ordinibus memorare suis, contexere longos
Ordior annales, repetens primordia rerum
Lapsaque temporibus conjungens tempora nostris.
Scilicet, ut Christo celebres præconia laudum
Qui tot in inculto statuit miracula colle :
Spirituum Duci meritos, non parcus, honores
Sis adhibere memor, Superum totique coronæ
Cui placet hunc habitare locum cunctosque tueri
Qui sua non fictis onerant altaria votis.
Tu lege quodcunque est, nil littera lecta nocebit,
Si labor est tenuis, commendat magna voluntas,
Quæ si plura daret majori haud posset amore.

H. J. L. J. M.

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LA TOURELLE DU GUET AND THE PORTE DU ROI FROM WITHIN.

From a drawing by Ed. Corroyer.

Photochrom Co.]

THE MOUNT, FROM THE DIGUE (SOUTH SIDE)

MONT S. MICHEL.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

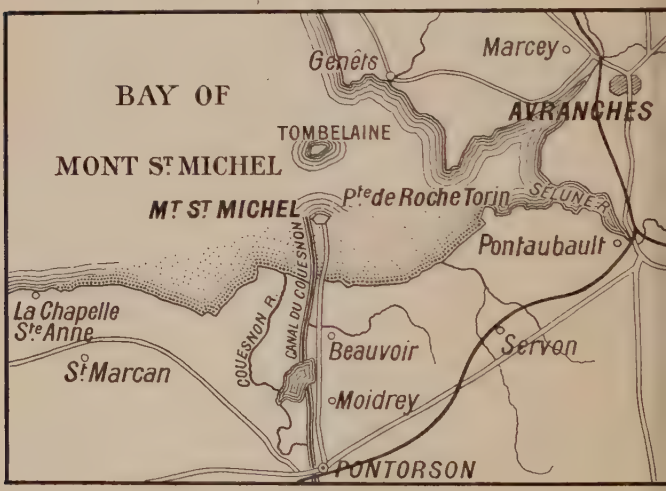
E history of the neighbourhood of the Mount begins, as ght be expected, with a date long anterior to that of any icture still existing there, and it will be necessary to trace efly in outline this earlier mythical period.

n Roman times the rocky site was known as Mons Jovis, l like the neighbouring islet, Tombelaine (*vide* p. 3), was oint of interest in the road[1] which passed due north ough Pontorson to Granville before turning to the west the Iles Chausey, which are supposed to have formed that time the outlying part of the mainland, off which

[1] Owing o the subsidence of the land this road had to be diverted from ld course.

there was a large island, now represented by the dangerou and lonely Minquiers.

The Mount is supposed at this time to have been mo than three miles from the narrow arm of sea that must hav received the waters of the rivers Sée and Sélune at Avranche and a line drawn on a modern map from the Rochers Cancale to Avranches would fairly indicate the then existi coastline. This expanse of land was a portion of the so-calle



forest of Scissy[1] which reached from a point near Renn to the Iles Chausey.

The now discredited map of Deschamps-Vadeville, dra according to the fifteenth-century map that used to belong to Abbey—itself a copy of a map of the ninth century—gives rough and wildly improbable outline of the coast as it thought to exist at the time the map was originally made. cannot be more than an approximation, as the sea had b

[1] Variously known as Scicy, Sicy, Setiac, from Scisciacum, Siciac or Setiacum nemus. In Guillaume de S. Pair it is called the *forê Quokelunde*.

croaching on the land slowly but surely since the early rt of the eighth century. In 709 the sea, or a tidal wave lowing after an earthquake, is said to have destroyed the eater part of the forest, and laid waste several villages which e known to have existed on its outskirts. This destruction the forest had the effect of leaving the Mount and mbelaine in greater prominence in the then devastated ea. It is perhaps a convenient fable, and accounts for much a very simple way. But there were many other high es or floods, and it does not seem necessary to put the struction down to one tide. The real cause of the dis- pearance of the land must be sought in the gradual geological ocess known as erosion, coupled with that of subsidence— fact evidenced in Cornwall, as in France, by the existence submerged tree-trunks and other vegetable débris at some pth below the existing surface. The geological formation our own Cornish Mount of S. Michael and that of its French mesake are identical, and legends exist as to subsidence England, as the extract from Mr. Quiller Couch's "Phœbus Halzaphron" may show:

Forest and pasture, city, mart and haven—away to the horizon a ving sea covered all. Of his kingdom there remained only a thin p of coast, marching beside the Cornish border, and this sentinel k, standing as it stands to-day, then called Cara Clowz, and now Michael's Mount.

The fact that the Roman road has been traced, paved h blocks of diorite, at a depth of between 9 feet and 10 t below the existing level of the sands seems to confirm e theory that the neighbourhood of the Mount—the district Cotentin—was slowly but appreciably subsiding in Roman nes.

Another cause may have altered the level of the bay—viz., e erosion made by the change in the course [1] of the rivers at run into the bay—the Couësnon, the Sée, and the Sélune. the time of the Hundred Years' war the Couësnon ran tween the Mount and Tombelaine, and materially helped protect the Mount, forming a kind of natural moat on that

[1] Earthquakes are known to have occurred in the district in A.D. 709, 55, 1584, 1619, 1640, 1889, and 1895.

side. This change of bed of the Couësnon has given rise to the couplet—

Le Couësnon par sa folie
A mis le Mont en Normandie.

About the year 1856 a company obtained a concession of about seven thousand acres of land situate to the east of the Mount, with a view to reclaiming it, and a permission to embank the river Couësnon. From the company's point of view the venture was a success, the sandy deposit being in great demand as a fertiliser, and the outcome was in 1878 1880 the raised roadway that joined the Mount to the mainland, and the *digue submersible* from the Pointe de Roche Torin. These concessions have been only the thin end of the wedge, and when in a few years' time the Mount has become merely a curious fortified rock on the new coastline, it may be possible for the company to obtain a concession to reclaim all the land between the Mount and Genêts.

The Mount was for a long time known as *in periculo maris* —owing probably to the uncertainty, if not danger, of a journey to it, but at the present time the Mount itself is in danger, as the currents which used to circle round it of old are now stopped in their course by the connecting roadway, and spend their energy on the foundations. The result of this is that the granite work at the sea-level has had to be renewed in many places within the last few years.

The district itself is now *in periculo terrae*, as already its great charm has been destroyed by the causeway, by the tram way, and the cheap trip trains from Paris.

[Photochrom Co.]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE ABBEY BUILDINGS.

the forest of Scissy, previously mentioned, there were be found early in the sixth century two hermits, by name Pair (or Paternus) and S. Scubilion,[1] who probably took ssession of the two places which were not covered by the e at high water—viz., the Mount, then called Mons Tumba, d Tumbella, the smaller *tumba*, now known as Tombelaine. ese two places seem to have practically been taken gether as one, as even after the erection of buildings upon em the title was the "Monasterium ad Duas Tumbas."

Early in the eighth century Aubert, the Bishop of Avranches s warned, as the legend says, in a series of dreams to build anctuary on Mons Tumba to the honour of the Archangel ichael. The bishop, who was by no means too prompt obeying his monitions, was reproved by the Archangel at third appearance, and by being touched by his visitor on e head, bore as a sign a hole in his skull,[2] for which even e doubting scientists of that epoch were quite unable to count.

After measuring out the space prescribed by the Archangel, d levelling the top of the rock, the bishop began his work, ch as it was, at the Mount, after the plan of the grotto at onte Gargano, and by the autumn of 709 the nucleus of the bbey was opened for twelve canons, and endowed with the nts accruing from Huynes and Genêts.

Of S. Aubert's church we know nothing certain but the

[1] Ils bastoient deux petites chapelles ès lieux plus à l'escart, l'une en onneur de Saint Etienne, premier martyr, et l'autre de Saint nphorien, lesquels ont demeurez longtemps sur pied. — Dom Le Roy.

[2] The skull of the good bishop (or a substitute) with a hole in it, is to seen at Avranches to this day.

description that "exstruxit fabricam . . . in modum cryptae rotundam centum (ut aestimatur) hominum capacem"—*i.e.*, that he made a building round after the fashion of a crypt, able to accommodate about one hundred men.

This primitive building lasted till 992, and from the fact that very old work has been found in the chapel of Notre Dame sous Terre, it seems that it may have been located there, or perhaps on the site of the chapel of S. Martin under the existing south transept. Under Maynard II. (991–1009) another church was begun, which exists in part to day. This building did not please Duke Richard II., and he ordered that what may be called the upper structure, as being on too small a scale, should be demolished. There seems little doubt that much of the substructures which were not built by Robert de Torigni, and which are not attributed to Hildebert II., were the works of Maynard II. Among these were the long corridors, with their enormous pillars and arches which form the *charnier*, or cemetery, with portions, at any rate, of the chapel of S. Martin and the chapel ascribed to Notre Dame sous Terre, and very possibly portions of the chapel under the north transept.

Water was a scarce commodity at that remote date at the Mount, and the Bishop, again through the direct assistance of the Archangel, was shown where to find a spring, the water from which was used up to the seventeenth century.

With the dedication to S. Michael and the reputation that came from the noising abroad of the apparition of the Saint to Bishop Aubert, the place soon became famous, and as the water from the bishop's well was held to be of miraculous power in restoring the sick and infirm to health, pilgrimages to it from all parts became the fashion.

Many wonderful details are written in the chronicle of Robert de Torigni, and by the writers who followed in his steps, of occurrences from the time of the vision to S. Aubert. An old custom at the Mount was that no one, even the sacristan, was to go into the church at night. This custom originated in the belief that angels met and sang in the church at night, and that their effulgence illuminated the place. Those who stayed in the church usually died on the third or fourth day. Monks and lay folk alike who did not behave in church were severely punished by unseen means, and contempt for relics was deadly in its effects,

pecially in the case of clerics—here was no benefit of ergy.

Miraculous apparitions of luminous fire and light on the uildings were always looked for on the eve of Michaelmas ay; and in fact the most natural occurrences, such as the ving of one person from drowning by another, grew by the peated telling into miracles performed directly by S. Michel. The legendary irruption of the sea in 709 and the final evastation of the forest of Scissy are said to have taken place nile some of Bishop Aubert's canons were on a visit to ome and Monte Gargano. On their return with numerous dics they found evidence of the physical changes in the ighbourhood, and the Mount seems from that date to have en termed *in periculo maris*. Other fanciful explanations the phrase have been given, but a literal explanation seems ully to meet the case.

Pope Constantine in 713, sent more relics to the Mount hich three years before had been visited by Childebert II. ith the death of Charlemagne in 814, and the consequent smemberment of his empire, the whole of western France s the scene of the raids by the heathen Northmen, who erran the district. Hasting carried out his ravages, burning urches far and near, profaning sanctuaries, and massacring ople wholesale whenever he could.

Under Rollo, or Rolf the Ganger, who compelled Charles e Bald to give Paris up to him, much of western France s laid waste and the inhabitants forced to flee, and according tradition refugees took shelter at this early date at the ount, and thus, by building themselves habitations at the se of the Mount, became the founders of what was later town. Rolf, by the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, became ke of Normandy, and received Gisel in marriage from her her, Charles the Simple. This monarch was more diplo-tic than his sobriquet would imply, for he colonised many rthmen in Neustria, as Normandy was then called, and nted them concessions of land, on condition that they came Christians and did homage. After Rolf's conversion e monks were reinstated at the Mount, and his son William ngsword[1] was so liberal a benefactor to them that the

[1] A mass was still said for him on November 21st every year according Dom Huynes, who wrote in 1647.

monks became too lax to do their duty, and hired substitutes to do their religious work for them.

Richard the Fearless, William Longsword's son, finding that temporal prosperity had had a prejudicial effect on the spiritual life of the monks, took the drastic course of replacing them by Benedictines from Mont Cassin, Fontenelle, and Jumièges —men who had the reputation of austerity.[1] Two only of the former monks remained, though all had the option of reforming and remaining, a sad testimony to the depravity (*solutiores mores*) that had become the rule of behaviour at the Mount; and of these two, Durand and Berneherius (Bernier), the latter was a thief.

With this changed order and the institution of Abbot Maynard I., who was invested with powers to deal with the lay inhabitants of the Mount, and had a charter from Pope John XIII. and Lothair, King of France, a better state of things prevailed. Abbot Maynard was elected by his colleagues at the Mount, and was ably supported in his management by his nephew and successor. He replaced the library which had been despoiled by the reprobate monks [2] who refused to reform, and did his best with an almost empty treasury.

In Maynard II.'s time the monastic buildings were destroyed by a fire which originated in the town—or, rather, lay quarter of the place—but the monks at once began to clear away the débris and to build anew what they could. In this they were helped by Richard the Good, the fourth Duke of Normandy. This was but the first of the series of fires which from that date to 1834 damaged various parts of the structure.

During the abbacy of Hildebert I. the monks were gladdened by the recovery of the remains of Bishop Aubert, which had been stolen by the monk Bernier in 966, and hidden in the town. The skull and the right arm were thenceforwards kept in a reliquary with more care than the rest,

[1] Mabillon says: "Ibi monachos sub aerumnosa theoricae vitae palaestra posuit, severioribus vitae regularis legibus adstrictos."

[2] They seem to have left behind them the "Speculum" of S. Augustine and Cicero's works. Maynard added by copying and by purchase a life of S. Martin, homilies on S. Paul's epistles by S. Augustine, commentaries by Peter Lombard on S. Paul's epistles, a letter from Alcuin to Charlemagne, and Bede's "Scintillarum Liber," with others.

and it was the rule for the abbots at their investiture to take the oath over the arm-bone of Bishop Aubert.

Under this same abbot in 1011 a lofty crucifix (*la croix des grèves* or *la croix-mi-grève*) was erected on the sands about half-way between the Mount and Genêts,[1] to commemorate the miraculous deliverance from the tide of a pilgrim woman from Lisieux, who, panic-stricken by the fright, and deserted by all her fellow-travellers, gave birth to a child. This cross, which is said to have been 100 feet in height, must have been well designed and well built, for its foundations, though built upon the sand, were seen in 1632, again in 1745, and finally in 1854, owing to a change in the river bed of the two Avranches rivers, the Sée and the Sélune. From the time of the occurrence of this miracle some have dated the use of the title *in periculo maris*, but the title is hinted at in the Chanson de Roland, "Et Seint Michiel de la Mer de l' Péril."

Hildebert II.—nephew of the preceding abbot—soon after his institution was called upon to marry Judith, daughter of Geoffrey Duke of Brittany, to Richard the Good. There is no doubt whatever that in 1020 Richard the Good, upon earlier foundations, began what eventually became the present structure. The greater part of Hildebert's work consisted in planning, and possibly beginning, the nave and transepts —the choir was demolished and rebuilt between 1421 and 1521—and in elaborating the complicated system of cellars, passages, and other substructures under the western end of the nave, where the three bays—destroyed in the fire of 1776—once existed.

Hildebert II., acting on a hint from Richard the Good, established some monks for the purpose of serving the existing parochial church of S. Peter, in which Bishop Aubert had been buried.[2] He also founded the two priories of Genêts and Ardevon.

From 1023, the date of Hildebert's death, to 1048, the works planned or begun by Hildebert progressed towards partial completion.

In Suppon's time—1033–1048.—Edward the Confessor made a grant to the Abbey of our English S. Michael's Mount,

[1] According to Dom Le Roy it was half-way between Mount S. Michel and Tombelaine.

[2] The present church of S. Peter is of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

on which he had—owing, probably, to his leaning toward everything Norman—founded a Benedictine abbey in honou of S. Michael.

Suppon had to retire in 1048 for having sold a mill a Moulin-le-Comte to Ranulf the Moneyer, without the per mission of the donor (Robert the Magnificent) and withou consulting his chapter. In the time of the next abbot Ranulf de Beaumont, the mill was purchased and a new grant was made to the Abbey, duly witnessed by Willian Duke of Normandy and several bishops. Some years after a descendant of Ranulf the Moneyer put in a claim for the mill and took possession by force. The abbot applied to William, who by that time was King of England, and a charter was drawn up in which that monarch expressly forbids any of his successors or any abbot of the Mount no matter what consideration might be offered, to vary or annul his ordinance. Needless to say that this document signed by "le roi très victorieux, et Mathilde la très noble reine," had the desired effect, and the mill remained the property of the abbots of the Mount.

By the last years of the abbacy of Ranulf de Beaumont the first central tower, over the crossing, was completed. His successor, Ranulf de Bayeux, was engaged in finishing the nave, and probably in alterations, of which there are traces, in the structures under the west end of the nave, or more exactly under the platform upon which the original west end was built. In 1066 the Abbey sent six ships to England to assist in bringing back William the Conqueror. On board these vessels were four monks from the Mount who were to reform ecclesiastical abuses in England. These monks became well known in England, as each of them was rewarded with a good position. Ruault went to an abbey at Winchester; William of Agon went to Cornwall; Scoliand to Canterbury; and Serlo replaced Werstan at the abbey of S. Peter, Gloucester.

The interesting tapestry preserved at Bayeux has portrayed for us an incident connected with Harold and Duke William. Conan Duke of Brittany had refused to do homage to William, so the latter at once set out for Brittany, and with him went Harold and his followers, to give their help. Crossing from Genêts to the Mount, some of the knights

ere, through carelessness in riding, caught in the treacherous nds, and the tapestry shows us Harold rescuing them, and prevent any mistake the legend explains the needlework, aphic though it is, with the words: "Hic Willelmus dux exercitus ejus venerunt ad Montem Michaelis, et hic ansierunt flumen Cosnonis. Hic Harold dux trahebat eos arenâ."

Roger I. was hindered in the work of construction by a l of part of the north side of the nave. It might have been serious disaster, as part of the dormitory came down as well,

MONT S. MICHEL, AS SHOWN IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

the monks were engaged in the choir and fortunately aped. The accident, however, had the effect of delaying finishing of the work till 1135. Dom Le Roy notes that dorter when rebuilt had the middle portion of its roof quite erent from that at the two ends. A fire was caused in 1112 lightning, and destroyed the greater part of the Abbey. ger II., in repairing the damage, built the Crypte de quilon as well as the *promenoir* or cloister above it and the ter, which was destroyed in the eighteenth century.

Under Roger I. Robert Curthose besieged his brother, nry I. of England, who was firmly established at the unt. Water being a scarce commodity at the Mount, it

is said that Robert supplied his brother with wine from H own table.

Duke Henry was unfortunate in the selection of the abbo whom he thrust upon the monks, and in Richard de Mè he made a worse choice than he had in Roger II., for Richa thought of little else than filling his own pockets and livi "not as a poor Benedictine monk, but as a great noble."

His successor, Bernard le Vénérable, in his long abbacy w able in 1135 to finish the building of the church that w begun in 1020, by adding the "lofty and strong tower on t four large piers of the choir." To him was due the insertio of stained glass in the large windows of the two transep Fragmentary remains of these windows were found in t excavations made in 1875 by M. Corroyer. The church Abbot Bernard's time consisted of a short choir, the transep as they are now in plan, at any rate, and a nave of seven bay with a west front composed of three doors with a porch series of porches, and above the doors a large window.

In 1138 the church had a narrow escape from destructio for the town was set on fire by the people of Avranches wh were in revolt. Much damage was done to the buildin situated to the north-west of the abbey.

When completed, the Abbey retained its structural arrang ment till the time of its greatest abbot, Robert de Torig or Robert du Mont, who guided its course for over thir years of prosperity and progress. His success as an abb was due chiefly to the strong contrast that his charact showed in comparison with several of his immediate p decessors. He was a clear-headed statesman, courtly a diplomatic in his manner, but with enough strength a ability to get his own way, an accomplished and lucid writ Through him the Mount became famous for its collection books and documents, and fortunately some of these a still preserved at Avranches. The "Chartulary" compil by him is one of the chief historical sources for the ea history of the Abbey.

Most of the architectural work done by this famous abb consisted in alterations to the existing church, and repa to the portions damaged by the fire in 1138. Of these t chief were the hostelry and its dependencies towards the sou (plan A), infirmary buildings towards the west, together wi

erations to the earlier works under the western end of the ve, undertaken chiefly to facilitate communication between e north and the south parts of the monastery, on the stage low the level of the nave (*vide* plan B).[1] Nothing remains the hostelry but some ruins and the evidence of its sition.

His work on the nave level consisted in two western towers th a porch between them, as indicated in plan C. There ust have been careless building here, for one of these wers—that to the south-east—gave way in 1300, and in its l destroyed a portion of the library which was installed there. he north-west tower was standing early in the seventeenth ntury, but in 1618 needed the extra support of a buttress, d about a century later collapsed completely.

The foundations of these works at the western end were early seen when the western platform was excavated and amined in 1875; and, among the foundations were found grave of De Torigni and his successor, Martin de rmendeio (or Fulmède), who ruled over the Mount and ried out De Torigni's policy from 1187 to the time of own death in 1191.

Bapst, in his invaluable monograph on "Tin," gives an en- ving from a drawing by M. Corroyer of the leaden and pewter tes and crosiers found in the tombs of both these abbots. e originals, with fragments of the robes of these abbots l other interesting relics, are in the charter-room.

After sixty-five years' freedom from fire, the Abbey was victim of a terrible conflagration in 1203, caused by the lice of Guy de Thouars, a Breton, who, after unsuccessfully ieging the Mount, fired the town and put a large number of more helpless inhabitants to the sword.

The proximity of the houses was always a possible source danger to the monastery, as may easily be imagined by a eful inspection of the buildings now on the island. If a should now chance to break out in the low-lying part of town, it might easily, given a favouring wind to help it, most of the houses in ruins. This must have been the e in 1203, and the flames, mounting to the summit, troyed the northern and exposed portion of the monastic ldings.

[1] The plans referred to will be found at the end of the volume.

Rebuilding being therefore necessary, it was done on a large scale, and the wonderful ar. l impressive pile still standing out stark and stiff on the exposed north side was begun under

THE SALLE DES HÔTES.

From a drawing by Ed. Corroyer.

Abbot Jourdain, who presided over the abbey from 1191 to 1212. These few years were important architecturally as well as politically ; architecturally, because the building called La Merveille was commenced, and politically because the rule

f the Norman Kings of England came, under the worthless nd hated John, practically to an end.

The Merveille was begun by the construction of the lowest :age—*i.e.* the Cellar and the Almonry (*vide* plan A) with ortions of the guest-chamber (which is immediately above ıe almonry) and the Benedicite chapel.

The guest-chamber, or Salle des Hôtes,[1] and the Tour des 'orbins (*vide* plan B) were finished by Raoul des Iles between

[*H. J. L. J. M. photo.*]

THE SALLE DES CHEVALIERS.

12 and 1218, and his successor, Thomas des Chambres, rried on the plans for completing the work on the second ıge by beginning the noble apartment now known as the lle des Chevaliers (1215–1225), with the long room over e Salle des Hôtes formerly termed, and no doubt at one ıe used as, a *dormitory*, but now since its restoration known the *refectory*.

[1] This Salle des Hôtes was for a long time known as the refectory, l is so marked in the plans of M. Corroyer. It was the refectory in seventeenth century.

The same abbot began the cloister (which is built over the Salle des Chevaliers), but did not live to see it finished. Thomas des Chambres had also altered the then existing buildings by making a doorway in the south aisle of the nave to give access to the platform called in later times Saut Gaultier (*vide* plan C), and by modifying the north wall of the north transept against which the lavatory in the south alley of the cloister is built.

The completion of the cloister was the finishing touch to the Merveille, a stupendous work which in spite of its engineering difficulties was said to have been carried through in twenty-five years.[1] Though done under the supervision of three abbots, the pile is as homogeneous as if it had been the work of one. It is the unity in conception and the uniformity of perfection that are the striking features in the work. The builders had their ideal, at which they aimed, and nothing else was allowed to interfere with the perfect realisation of their plans.

The chapel of S. Etienne was evidently built at this same date, to the south-east of the old Hostelry of De Torigni.

The Merveille, with its solid and at that time impregnable base, massively and honestly built in solid granite, may have suggested the idea of further strengthening the Abbey at other points, and possibly of fortifying the island as a whole.

We find that Tustin (abbot from 1236 to 1264) was by no means an unworthy successor of De Torigni, and that under him the Abbey was fortified by the erection of what is known as Belle Chaise (otherwise Belle Chaire or Bella Cara)—*i.e.*, the entrance to the Abbey which is but seldom seen by visitors, being hidden in part by the later entrance known as the Châtelet, built by abbot Pierre le Roy in 1393. At about the same time the lofty range of abbatial buildings which are passed on the left by visitors when ascending the long and interesting flight of steps was begun.

The existing private chapel here, dedicated to S. Catharine, was the work of Geoffroy de Servon at the end of the fourteenth century. This same abbot, in continuance of his plans for fortifying the Abbey, surrounded the spring on the north side of the Mount called after S Aubert with a strong wall.

[1] In one list of abbots quoted by Bouquet the finishing of the cloister is put down to Richard Tustin—some ten years later.

nd made a covered way, also fortified, by which the besieged ould go to and from the wall in safety.

The position of the place, exposed as it was to attack n either side from neighbours at enmity between themelves, and to attack from strangers, has had its effect on the rchitecture. Necessity, the mother of invention, forced the lace to be made a fortress, and its builders succeeded in naking it impregnable. As Viollet-le-Duc says: "The inuence of the military on the religious life made itself felt n monastic architecture from the thirteenth century. The uildings made by the abbots at this time are the index f their civil status; being feudal lords, they behave as such. Among the abbeys which show so clearly the characteristics f an establishment religious as well as military, we will nention the Abbey of Mont S. Michel. . . . It was an important strategic point at the time when the French King ad just got possession of Normandy, and when he was in laily fear of on attack by the Anglo-Normans. Philippe Auguste always left the Mount in the hands of the abbots: e considered them as vassals, and while helping them by rants with a view to their being kept in good condition or defence, he never seemed to doubt that the monks could old the place for him just as well as a secular force."

Just as Philippe Auguste by his munificence had made he construction of the Merveille more easily possible, so Louis IX. (S. Louis), who visited the Mount in 1256, furthered, by his donations, the work of fortification.

One of the last works of Tustin was the commencement f a chapter-house, of which undertaking the doorway in he west alley of the cloister—a fine piece of work (1260) —is the sole remaining trace. Dom Huynes quotes an old hronicle which says: "Hic fecit bellam caram [*i.e.* Belle Chaise] incepit etiam novum capitulum et novum opus subtus ellam caram."

The chronicle of the fourteenth century is, on the whole sad one, for fire caused by lightning destroyed the belfry n 1300, and melted the bells, destroying also one of Robert le Torigni's western towers. Owing to the wind the flames pread downwards, and much damage was done to the Abbey uildings, especially the dormitory, and falling sparks set ire to many houses in the town.

Indomitable as ever, the monks under Guillaume de Château made good the damage, and, assisted by Philippe le Bel, further extended the fortifications towards the south-east. Philippe was not altogether disinterested in his donations, for he saw the possibility of the Mount becoming a

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THE MERVEILLE, FROM THE EAST, AND THE STEPS CALLED "LES DEGRÉS DU NORD."

desirable point of vantage in time of war—in fact, within a very few years a regular garrison was posted there to hold the place for the King. This change in the status of the Mount involved naturally the further strengthening of the defences of the town, and they were not strengthened a

moment too soon, as the terrible period known as the Hundred Years' war was on the point of beginning, with all its many sides issues, between England and France.

One Pierre de Toufou had been the custodian of the town gate in Tustin's time, but the new order of things made it necessary for the place to have a military garrison; and this change obliged the abbots, who would hardly relish the idea of any dual control of any part of the Mount, to assume definitely a quasi-military standing. The first of these military abbots was Nicolas le Vitrier, an energetic and capable abbot—formerly the prior, and a native of the Mount. Knowing the weak places in the circumference of the island, he thwarted the English by his buildings and fortifications. Some damage was done again to the Abbey in 1350, but, from the ease with which it was repaired, it seems to have been but slight in extent. Another change made necessary by the introduction of the garrison was the building of suitable quarters for the men and their officers.

Geoffroy de Servon had hard work to protect his Abbey from the English, and fearing that under the guise of pilgrims armed men might secretly get into the fortress, he obtained a royal decree from Charles V. in 1364 under the terms of which all arms had to be left at the entrance.

Du Guesclin in 1366 deposited his wife Tiphaine in the town, together with his movable property. The site of the house he built is not quite certainly known (one is pointed out as hers with possibly some few traces of fourteenth-century work). Geoffroy in 1368 rased several houses to the ground for fear they might interfere with the safety of the place. Geoffroy de Servon did not escape the lot of so many of his predecessors, and in 1375 and following years was busied with repairs and rebuilding made necessary by a fire in 1374. The exposed situation of the Mount made it peculiarly liable to damage by lightning.

This abbot built the chapel to S. Catharine,[1] in the abbatial buildings on the left of the main flight of steps that lead from the Salle des Gardes to the actual entrance of the Abbey. Any interest it may have had was destroyed during the temporary occupation of these buildings in 1865 and

[1] This chapel is not generally shown to visitors.

following years. This chapel was for a time the western termination of this enormous block of buildings, originally planned and partly carried out by Abbot Tustin.

With Pierre le Roy fresh works, and also restoration, began. The Tour des Corbins was rebuilt in 1391, and the abbatial buildings damaged by the fire of 1374 were restored and re-roofed. Another tower, the Tour Perrine, on the south-east (plan B), adjacent to the Salle du Gouvernement was built. Early in the next century Belle Chaise, which had been the outer defence of the Abbey, was strengthened by the building of the Châtelet immediately in front to the north, and the Courtine, or wall, which divides the Châtelet from the courtyard [1] giving access to the Merveille. Beyond the Châtelet, Le Roy built the barbican and connected his new works with the existing ramparts by modifying the steps.

Robert Jolivet, the next abbot, had been chaplain to Pierre le Roy and was in Italy with him at the time of his death. He embraced the opportunity of interviewing the Pope (John XXIII.), and secured the vacant abbacy. His loyalty seems to have been tampered with by the English during his stay in Paris between 1411 and 1416, where ostensibly he was studying at the University. Returning to the Mount to find the English encamped in force at Tombelaine, he devoted his energies to extending the town fortifications eastward and joining them to those built by Guillaume du Château in 1309. The six towers on the outer walls are of this date. Abbot Jolivet seems to have been fond of personal glory and show as well, as the list of church furniture ordered by him is most interesting—copes, tunics, chasubles of violet velvet, a carpet sown over with stars of gold with R. in the centre; copes of red velvet and cloth of gold, mostly embroidered with R. J.; a mitre which quite eclipsed those of Tustin and Servon, being decked with pearls and many precious stones. In 1412 he ordered a gold, or rather silver-gilt, cross, with massive gold bosses, with enamelled and repoussé work; in the same year a smaller one of silver and other silver ware, together with a solid gold chalice. This was stolen by Arthur de Cossé, Bishop of Coutances, in 1570 and sold. Jolivet also erected

[1] This courtyard is to the right, or west, of the Salle des Gardes and is the way out from the almonry.

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]
THE ALMONRY DOOR IN THE COURTYARD OF THE MERVEILLE.

a large clock in the south-west tower of the nave, and on th bell had engraved :

Mil quatre cent douze l'année
De l'Abbé Robert fus donnée.

In 1420 Charles VII., appreciating the increased activit of the English, appointed Jean VIII. d'Harcourt as h lieutenant-general for the provinces of Normandy, Anjou Touraine, and Maine. This was fortunate for the Abbey an the Mount generally, as Jolivet, remembering his earlier offer went to Rouen and entered the service of the Duke of Bedfor Upon this the monks appointed a successor in the perso of their prior, Jean Gonault, with the title of Vicar-Genera This was an excellent choice, and with Jean d'Harcourt th Mount was well defended, to the great chagrin of Jolive and his new-found friends, the besieging English.

In the year following (1421) the original choir gave wa and became a total ruin, owing apparently to defects in th substructures, and for nearly thirty years the choir remaine in this condition, as the blockade by the English from 142 to 1434 occupied all the energy and the resources of th dwellers, cleric and lay, at the Mount. Money, too, wa like the water supply—rather scanty—and what the monk could raise was required for self-defence rather than for churc building.

It was not until after 1450—the date of the English evacua tion of France—that the monks at the Mount were able t devote much time to their private affairs. The abbot Guillaume d'Estouteville, appointed by a bull of Pop Nicholas V. in 1446, began the work of rebuilding at th eastern end, most of which had been in ruins for nearly thirty years.

His superb choir, with all its graceful and delicate work was not finished until 1521, as the work met with variou hindrances. Abbot, or rather Cardinal, d'Estouteville died in 1482, leaving the building advanced enough for his successo to complete, as far as glazing the various apsidal chapels an decorating the interior generally was concerned. In a storm in 1509 lightning, having again struck and burned the tower caused further damage to the already weakened piers. To

medy this damage strengthening masonry—recently removed -had to be added to prevent the entire collapse of the central wer piers.

The upper portion of the choir was begun by Guillaume Lamps (1499-1510), but not finally completed till the time his brother Jean in 1521. This was the last building of y interest at the Mount, for with the commendatory abbots e period of neglect and decay set in. It is true that repairs ere done often by compulsion, but they were done without terest in the work, and the effects of neglect soon became sible. From 1530 to the end of the century was a dark time the history of the Abbey. Under Jean le Veneur nothing as done.

In 1564 a large portion of the monastery was destroyed by re and remained in ruins for nearly six years. The abbot, croux, when ordered by the Parliament to take steps for e necessary work, effected an exchange with the Bishop of outances, and in this way but little was done. The same rcumstances occurred thirty years later, when the wooden ntral tower was struck by lightning and the fire melted e nine bells and damaged the roof of the Abbey. The bot, Cardinal de Joyeuse, had to be forced to carry out the cessary repairs.

The damage done to the central tower seems to have ggested the idea that it would be cheaper in the end to build it more substantially, and in 1609 a tower of massive oportions was raised over the crossing. It seems incredible at any builders, recognising the condition of the piers and e strengthening masonry that was added to them to keep em together, could have ventured to pile on more weight; d the wonder is that the work, with the new bells that were it in it, survived down to the time of the recent demolition the tower and its restoration in 1898-9 after the designs of . Petitgrand. In 1609 the south side of the nave was also rtially restored.

In 1616 some slight repairs were done to the Abbey by the uc de Guise, acting for the abbot, who was only eight years age; and two years later a massive buttress was erected strengthen the work at the west end originally carried out Robert de Torigni. The cost of this was very heavy 4,008 livres—equivalent to about £6,000 now), but it

undoubtedly was necessary. Three years later the roof of the nave was restored and rebuilt.

Another change took place in 1622, when the monks were replaced by Benedictines of the congregation of S. Maur. Ostensibly they were brought in to improve the moral tone at the monastery, which, like that of most other religious foundations at that time, had become somewhat lax.

According to Dom Le Roy, these monks were not very comfortable in their new quarters. "Ces bons religieux, douze ou treize en nombre, estant arrivez en ce Mont ne trouvèrent chambre, ny lieu ny meubles pour ler les accomoder. Il leur fallut se mettre dans le logis abbatial, pour un temps, et la chapelle de St. Catharine du dit logis leur servoit de réfectoir. mangeant tous à une table et bien heureux d'avoir de l'aliment commun pour rassasier leur apétit après avoir bien jeusné, et quelque peu de cydre, sans vin, pour estancher leur soif après avoir beaucoup travaillé et payné a porter a hostées, sur leurs épaules, les vindanges, et terres et villenies desquelles estoient remplys presque tous les lieux réguliers." He complained, too, that the Abbey derived no good from the *abbés commendataires*, and that the revenue was very small in proportion to what was required to be done. In 164[illegible] matters were improved, and he wrote: "Nous mangeons notre pain bien de repos et à notre ayse. Il y a à présent de bon et beau revenu net et quitte, de quoy nous jouissons dans ce monastère."

In 1628 the north transept was walled off from the rest of the church, as it was considered unsafe. Next year the chapel of Notre Dame des Trente Cierges was converted into a passage to bring up provisions from the elevator to the kitchens and refectory. There seems to have been some desecration of the chapel, as Dom Le Roy says the alteration was made "pour beaucoup de raisons importantes à l'honneur de Dieu et du monastère."

In 1633 the cloister and the south aisle of the nave were roofed with slate, new timbers being supplied. The old flat lead roof was done away with altogether. The two eastern tower piers were restored in 1642. Robert de Torigni's south-west tower was in such a ruinous condition in 1644 that at a chapter it was decided to ask leave of the king to pull it down. Leave was given, and then the chapter decided to

tore it. The cloister pavement was apparently in very bad pair, for in 1646 it was boarded over. In the same year a ge room was built on the site of the old dormitory, and the rary marked M in plan C. At the same time the nave s for the most part repaved. It was so bad that Dom Le y writes that the dust and dirt were ankle-deep—a sad ntrast to the gorgeous ecclesiastical fittings and furniture set by the newly imported Benedictines.

The introduction of the Benedictines had other effects sides improving for the time the morals of the Mount. hese new monks were exceedingly energetic, and could t relish the idea of leaving the Abbey as it had been for nerations. Almost the first change was to divide the esent refectory (K plan C) into two stages,[1] and finding at the upper stage was but poorly illuminated, they cut ray the shafts at the sides of the graceful lancet windows. l traces of this senseless vandalism have been lately restored ay, and the refectory is now treated with such respect and verence that no one, even though equipped with a permit om the Bureau des Monuments Historiques, is allowed in it naccompanied by a guide detailed specially for the purpose.

Next year a staircase was made by Dom Moinet (*très expert bastiments*)—a little staircase to give access from the o-storied dorter (the restored refectory) to the church. In 48 the paving of the nave was completed.

Another change these monks made was to set up a ndmill on the Tour Gabrielle. This feature has also been stored away, and a lighthouse is now installed on the tower, nd lighted up when required.

Truly the glorious old Abbey had fallen on evil days, but worse fate was yet in store. An energetic abbot for a few ears (1644–1670), Jacques de Souvré, who for a time ossessed the abbatial and the military power in his own nd (a state of things that for quite a century had been nknown), secured this power for his successors. This restored ower was, however, of very little use, as the next abbot was ot specially noted for his ability; and of his two immediate ccessors (1703–1760), the first was a German, Dean of unich and later High Chancellor of the Elector of Cologne,

[1] An engraving in Mabillon's "Annales Benedict." shows a roof of uch higher pitch, under which was a granary.

and the second was Charles Maurice de Broglie, who, having secured the abbacy for fifty dozen of Burgundy, kept it for forty years. The German abbot, Karg de Bedimburg, presented the Abbey with a bell, which is still there, waiting to be raised to its place in the tower.

Prisoners had been kept at the Mount at intervals from the sixteenth century, but it was reserved for Louis XV. to make the place famous by imprisoning Dubourg, or, to call him by his real name, Victor de la Castagne, in the so-called iron cage.

Etienne Charles de Léomenie de Brienne, who was Archbishop of Toulouse, was abbot from 1760 to 1769, and, being unwilling to repair the damage caused by a fire which in 1766 was caused by lightning, resigned his abbacy to the king. Louis XV., unable to find any ecclesiastic willing to repair the Abbey, appropriated the rents himself but did nothing. In spite of the dangerous condition of the buildings, nothing was done till Louis XVI. in 1776 had the place examined with a view to rebuilding. To save expense and trouble, the nave—the ruined west end of which had always been a weak point—was shortened by four bays, and a commonplace front in the so-called Greek style affected by the Jesuits was substituted. To further strengthen this new front, two chapels in the substructures—viz., those dedicated to Notre Dame and to S. Aubert sous Terre—were abolished and the vault built up with solid masonry.

With the Revolution the Abbey as a religious foundation came to an ignominious end. All the church property that was movable was taken away and sold; the library was mainly transferred to Avranches, where some of it remains to this day.

In the awful time of the Terror, the Abbey again was a home for priests, but they came in by the hundred against their will, herded like sheep, and the Convention, constituting the place a State prison with the grim title of "Mont Libre," practically converted every available apartment into cells, workshops, and guard-rooms.

In the time of La Vendée in 1793 the prison doors were opened, but not for long. Napoleon I. did not improve matters by turning the place into a house of correction in 1811; and in 1817 the historic site became a "Maison Centrale de Force et de Correction," and remained so for forty-seven years.

The women's quarter was in the time of Louis XVIII. located in the old hostelry of Robert de Torigni. This part had long been unsafe, and in 1817 it collapsed, and for a long time the greater portion of the remaining buildings was in danger.

Room was still wanted for prisoners, and the Refectory, the Salle des Chevaliers and the Salle des Hôtes, and the Almonry and the Cellar, were all divided into stages. Traces of this mutilation can still be seen in the two latter rooms, the last that visitors inspect before leaving the Abbey. These alterations may have been considered necessary in the scheme of wholesale degradation, but the amount of ruthless mutilation was enormous, and the results, as seen now, lamentable.

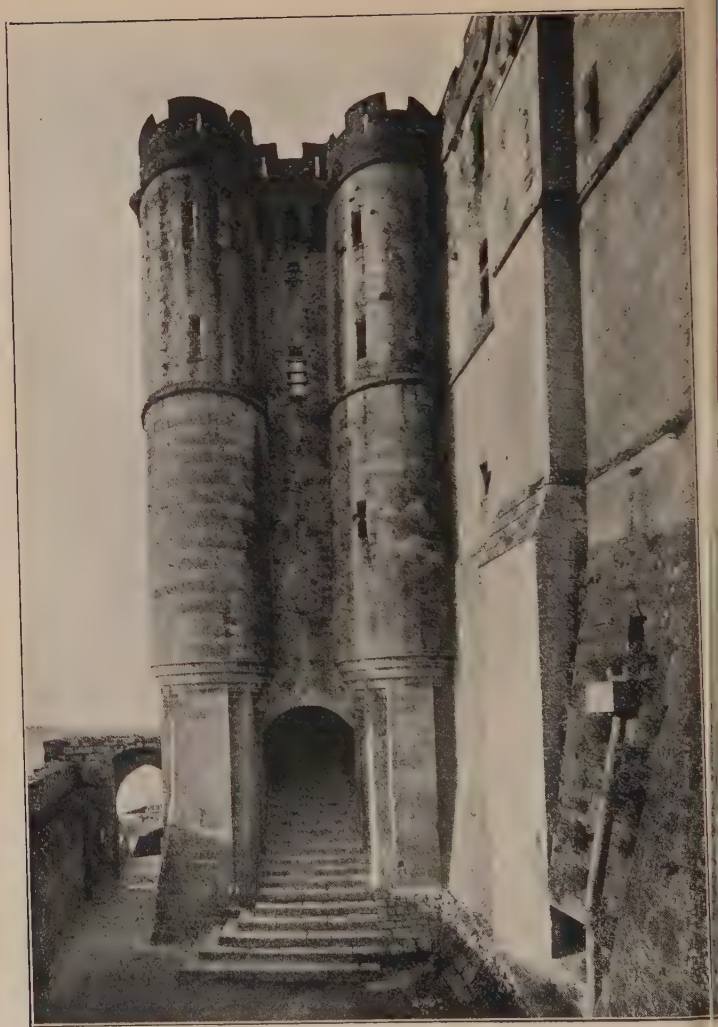
In 1834 fire broke out in the nave, and the timber floors, beams, and partitions made it a serious matter. Much damage was done and the place was patched up with plaster mixed with coarsely powdered fragments of granite. Imagine the absurdity of sham capitals made in such a plaster after damaged originals, and by workmen to whom the grotesques in the carving were just as much an unknown language as Greek or Hebrew! The designers of these monstrosities seem to have been proud of them, for they wrote large upon them the date of their manufacture. "Restorations" like this went on at intervals up to 1860; they, too, were—perhaps in emulation—deemed worthy of a date, and a sham roof of eleventh century in style—also in lath and plaster, crowned the work.

The Abbey ceased to be a prison in 1863, and two years afterwards was let for nine years to the Bishop of Coutances and Avranches, who established a band of Missionnaires de Saint-Edmé de Pontigny. Assisted by a yearly grant of £800 from Napoleon III., the buildings were superficially cleaned, and all partitions and timber staging removed. Pilgrimages began to be made once more, and the Confraternity of S. Michel was revived. The lease expired in 1872, and in that year the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts ordered the place to be surveyed and inspected with a view to its restoration. M. Viollet-le-Duc was entrusted with the inspection, and M. Corroyer presented his report, which was adopted. The Abbey was in 1874 scheduled as a *monument historique*, and those who have travelled in France will know at once what

this "scheduling" implies. Much of what has been done in these last thirty years has been necessary to preserve the whole fabric from going to absolute ruin, and comprises the massive buttress at the south-west angle of the buildings; the repair and consolidation of the twelfth-century substructures of Robert de Torigni; the paving of the platform on the level of the church at the west end; the making good of all damage done by the collapse of the old hostelry buildings in 1817; and a heavy buttress on the west side.

From 1877 to 1881 the cloister and the charter-room were entirely rebuilt. After that the refectory was taken in hand by M. Petitgrand, with the rebuilding of the central tower. The tower was completed in 1900, and surmounted with a figure of S. Michel by Frémiet, after M. Petitgrand's designs. Since the completion of the tower, the interior and exterior of the choir have been undertaken, and the pinnacles enriched with new tops, under the direction of M. Paul Gout.

The restoration of the nave to its original length of seven bays will probably be the aim and object of the restorers, and then the Merveille as a whole will be undertaken. Much as this is to be regretted, a certain amount of exterior repair seems indispensable.



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THE CHÂTELET.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXTERIOR OF THE ABBEY AND FORTRESS.

"It is enough," says the Rev. J. L. Petit, "to know, without examining it critically, that the work of ages is heaped upon that gigantic isolated rock, and we had better contemplate this wonder of nature and art at our leisure from a distance, than be carried over its details in the company of a crowd of strangers and an impatient guide. Would you see and feel what Mont S. Michel really is? Go by yourself to a distance from the beaten track (a few hundred yards will be sufficient) and look at that rugged pyramid, where the work of man is scarce distinguished from the bare granite rock on which it is reared, rising from the unbroken waste of dull, colourless sand—no other object in your sight but the faint outline of a low, distant coast, no sound but a mysterious murmur as the wind sweeps over the samphire-like weed which at intervals just emerges above the sandy level; if external influence can impress a sense of solitude, it is here." [1]

A study in detail of the exterior of the Mount and its buildings requires an expenditure of some time and some exertion;—of time, because the many intricacies of the internal structural arrangements are not any easier to unravel from the outside even at the nearest possible distance; of exertion, or at any rate of trouble, because the walk round the *ceinture* of fortifications is only partial, and a complete examination involves a somewhat unpleasant ramble over the tenacious and slimy mud which at some states of the tides is deposited close to the beach.

The circuit of the Mount, if the visitor is fortunate, may be made in a boat, but the time that can be expended is too short

[1] "Architectural Studies in France," 2nd ed., pp. 333-334.

to do the exterior justice unless it has been studied carefully beforehand.

One of the best points from which to examine the exterior is from the steps near the unsightly modern crucifix. From here the eastern end of the pile with its various members will be easily studied. For a distant view of the south side the *digue* gives ample opportunity, and from this point of the compass the greater part of the buildings is clearly seen as one whole, towering well above the buildings of the town (see illustration, p. 3).

One of the features of the view of the exterior is the mighty pile of scaffolding that clings to the rocky island on its south-west side. Though it has been the outward visible sign since M. Corroyer's time of much restoration, yet in itself this mass of timber, carefully designed and carefully built, without one useless piece of added material, appeals to the eye with a peculiar charm.

From the small churchyard attached to the parish church a good close view of the vast range of residential buildings will be obtained. First the eye falls upon the fourteenth-century **Châtelet**, or gate-house, with its massive round towers swelling so gracefully from the rugged square wall beneath them, and concealing the fine earlier doorway of Tustin's famed Belle Chaise. The chimney is of the fourteenth century and part of Pierre le Roy's work. Above the Châtelet is to be seen a tower with a pointed roof, but this, though it looks as though it belonged to it, is part of the *older* Merveille (it is marked κ′ in plan B)—the **Tour des Corbins**, partly rebuilt by the same abbot.

To the left is Belle Chaise (Bella Cara or, as some MSS. have it, Belancadra), the noble work of Richard Tustin (1257), and, as above stated, the former entrance to the Abbey and the fortress. Its solid lower stage, with its strong flanking buttresses, is broken by no opening but the window of two lights with the bull's-eye above it. Solidity was essential at this point, and Abbot Tustin secured this by his massive walls. The wall above was originally one of the most graceful pieces of architecture of its date in the place; it consists of an arcade of tall slender columns, with diminutive bases rising from brackets which gradually die into the splay of the solid wall. In the lower half of the arcade are six

small windows, and above are four long narrow windows, each divided by a transom into two unequal parts.

Plan **B** will show that these windows gave light to the important room, not generally shown, known as the Salle des Officiers, or the Salle du Gouvernement. It communicated with the crypt, the Châtelet, the Tour des Corbins, and the Tour Perrine, which adjoins it on the south side.

This **Tour Perrine**, so-called in honour of Pierre le Roy, communicates with the Salle des Gardes, the Salle du Gouvernement, and the other adjacent buildings, and with the outside world by a postern gate further protected by a portcullis. This door was the abbot's private entrance.

Further to the south-west are the **Petit** and the **Grand Exil**. The former was built originally by Nicolas le Vitrier, and was finished by Pierre le Roy and used as a temporary infirmary. It communicated with the gardens and terraces below by a private door and staircase. Later on it was part of the estate offices, and in the seventeenth century was used for political prisoners.

The Grand Exil was in its lower stages either the work of Nicolas le Vitrier or of Geoffroy de Servon, and was continued, if not finished, by Pierre le Roy. It was partly used as the Bailliverie and the actual dwelling-house of the abbot, his private bridge over the courtyard of the Abbey giving him access to the crypt and the other apartments on that floor. This Grand Exil was utterly ruined by its subdivision and its conversion into prisons.

To the west is the chapel of S. Catharine, the work of Geoffroy de Servon in 1380, and for a long time the western-most point of the buildings. Pierre le Roy may have done some small amount of work above this chapel, but it was Guillaume de Lamps who carried the range of buildings as far as the Saut-Gaultier, adding the little octagonal turret at the corner of the older buildings.

Beyond this and immediately below the Saut-Gaultier, standing some feet back, is the mysterious looking wall with its very formal though irregular arcading. The lowest portion is built upon the solid rock, while the middle part, mutilated early in the nineteenth century to make room for the great elevating wheel, is the outer wall of the old chapel of Notre Dame sous Terre.

To the west, again, of this, also several feet back, is the block consisting of some of Robert de Torigni's work, on the ground floor, with the chapel of S. Etienne on the floor immediately above it, topped by some modern or very much modernised work on the site of what once were infirmary buildings.

At present the scaffolding conceals from view the remains of the hostelry (H in plan B) originally built in three stages by Robert de Torigni.

Taking this south side as a whole, it forms one of the most picturesque groups that it is possible to imagine. The silhouette, when it is lighted up in the early morning by the sun, stands out cut clearly and sharply against the sky, and later in the twilight gains in mystery and impressiveness.

At the north-west corner of the rock there is the tiny **Chapel of S. Aubert**, easily accessible soon after the tide has turned.

On the northern side there is that architectural wonder, the **Merveille**, in all its simple splendour, substantially the same as it was when finished by Rudolph de Villedieu in 1228. The Merveille stands apparently isolated from the western range of buildings, being separated by an unoccupied garden space. This space, however, is worth a moment's attention. It is best examined from the platform outside the west end of the church, for in its south-east angle are some remains of the eleventh-century buildings, most of which were demolished to make room for the Merveille. According to M. Corroyer, these remains, which are in three stages, were: at the bottom, the kitchens; above them a refectory, communicating formerly with the old cloister or Promenoir of Roger II.; and on the topmost story a dormitory, still communicating with the south-west corner of the cloister, and the other dormitory adjoining the north aisle of the nave.

It is impossible to say how far the Merveille was intended to be carried in a westerly direction, but that there was such intention is evident from the way the west side of the cloister was built to provide a way of access to a chapter-house. Richard Tustin is said to have begun the projected westerly addition, but the work was suspended and came to nothing.

The door in the lowest stage is the western door of the

cellar. Above it is the curious opening (now a window) that was intended to be the means of communication between the Scriptorium or Salle des Chevaliers and a room which was not added, and at the top are the windows and the intended doorway for the chapter-house that was never built.

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]
THE WEST END OF THE MERVEILLE.

At the left (or north end) of this interesting wall is the block containing the staircase from the cellar to the Salle des Chevaliers, and the charter-room approached from the Salle des Chevaliers, and also from the cloister.

The pile of the Merveille thus consists of six members, two on each stage. At the bottom are the Almonry to the east and the Cellar to the west; above these the Salle des

Hôtes and the Salle des Chevaliers, and above all the Refectory and the Cloister, the latter with a considerably lower wall and roof to its alleys.

This north side of the Mount is the most awkward to visit when the tide is out, owing to the slimy deposits left near the rocky beach, and to get there with comfort involves the making of a wide *détour*. If, however, the walk [1] across the sands to Tombelaine be undertaken, as it undoubtedly should, the exterior of the Merveille may be taken on the way.

The mass of this thirteenth-century building, so far unrestored, is not so imposing when viewed from the nearest possible point of the ramparts as it is when viewed from the sands. In this case the position of the small wood at the base of the pile makes the connecting link between the beach and the granite walls, and the scale of the pile will be seen to advantage. It is the perfect proportion of the mass that impresses one the most : the various members taken piecemeal may be undoubtedly surpassed by finer specimens of work elsewhere, but here the perfection of the scale, the admirable unity of the conception, the continuity of the execution, the total absence of any trivial ornament, the grace and the balance of the parts, all combine to make one harmonious whole. There is no change of plan, no advent of a new architect who was going to show his predecessors what ought to have been done, but the orderly execution of an admirable plan, as unique as it is complete.

To understand the Merveille it would be best to examine the interior first. It is somewhat inconvenient that visitors are at present conducted through the Merveille in such a way that they see the latest portions, such as the cloister and the refectory, first, and the Aumônerie, the oldest part, last. This might with advantage be altered, and the chronological sequence would assist, instead of bewildering, the very few who take the Mount seriously. In this short description, at any rate, the chronology will be observed. Seven massive buttresses on the north wall, between the Tour Claudine on the east and the small tower to the west,

[1] It should be done with a guide, and sandals should be worn so as to minimise the discomfort of treading on the ridges of hard and cement-like sand that is found in places.

support the wall of the Aumônerie, with its single windows, each divided by a transom.

Some of the windows in the lowest stage were blocked up at the time the place was turned into a prison, but M. Corroyer's plans give the windows as they were originally, and are some day to be again. To the west of the Aumônerie is the Cellier or Montgomerie, a name applied indiscriminately to both the spacious rooms in this lower stage.[1] Here the windows are much narrower, probably for reasons of defence, and the little bridge between two of the buttresses marks the place where the provisions for the Abbey fortress, and the water from the outlying spring of S. Aubert, were hoisted up by the wheel into the cellar. It was by this means of entrance that the Huguenots went up to their death in 1591.

At the westernmost corner of the Merveille are seen the remains of the gangway communicating with the fortified well of S. Aubert.

On the next stage, beginning at the eastern end, is the Salle des Hôtes, with its seven windows, each of two lights, subdivided by a transom, and filled with traces of the alterations made in the prison times.

To the west will be seen the curious range of windows that light the Salle des Chevaliers, or Scriptorium. Some slight irregularity in the spacing is due to the position of the two enormous fireplaces, the flues of which are ingeniously carried up through the buttresses: the shafts are to be seen over the cloister wall, which is immediately above. Two groups of ten small windows light and ventilate the two sets of latrines which adjoined the Salle. In the corner block of buildings at the west end is the long recess also connected with the water supply derived from S. Aubert's well.

Returning again to the east, the long row of slender windows, some of which are pierced through the buttresses, give an ampler supply of light to the restored refectory than would be thought possible on a casual inspection from the outside. But here, where all was done well, the room is equally lighted from both sides, and the wall is strong enough

[1] There was probably but a very short interval between the completion of the Almonry and the beginning of the Cellar. (For further information as to this, *vide* p. 72.)

to carry the wooden framed roof, though it is less massive than the walls in the two lower stages.

To the west of the refectory windows is the turret which

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THE ESCALIER DE DENTELLE.

contains the spiral staircase, which gave communication between the Aumônerie, the Salle des Chevaliers (the door into the latter is now walled up), and the refectory.

In a line with this turret is the west end of the refectory,

with the two large chimneys from the Salle des Hôtes below. Further west, in a line with the heads of the refectory windows, is the wall behind which is the cloister. Two chimney-shafts, those of the Salle des Chevaliers, break into this uniformity. At the extreme west end of the line is the Charter-room, on a level with the cloister, with another room of the same size beneath it, and its staircase giving access to the Salle des Chevaliers below, and quite independent of the stairway from the latter room to the cellar below.

Below the Merveille is the wall of fortification terminating in the picturesque Tour Claudine, and below this wall is the prettily wooded but rugged slope which, according to those who delight in legend, is the twentieth-century remnant of the forest of Scissy that was overwhelmed twelve centuries ago.

Of the exterior of the church there is not much to be said, as so little is to be seen. From the Cour de la Merveille on the east a breakneck view of the apse can be obtained, and from the terrace garden (S in plan B) a better view of the same, together with that part of the exterior of the Crypte des Gros Piliers which is not covered by other buildings.

The Cour de l'Eglise (Q in plan C) is too narrow to enable any view to be obtained of the church, and it is not till the Saut-Gaultier or platform at the top of the long flight of stairs is reached that the church comes into view, and what is seen now is shortly to be restored. The south door in the south aisle of the nave, the new tower, and the wall of the south transept is all that there is to see. On the west platform, by getting as far back as possible on the *parvise*, another view can be had extending from the cloister to the south transept, but the view is cramped. The upper part of the apse is well seen from the top of the Tour des Corbins, or better from the roof of the refectory. Seen from close quarters the buttresses, ingeniously placed as they are, prevent a comprehensive view, and the view from the so-called Escalier de Dentelle is but partially complete. One of the chief features in the exterior is the cresting of the apse, though most of it is new, based on the model of the older sixteenth-century work. Another feature is the string-course which runs round the various buttresses, and is only interrupted on that which contains the Escalier de Dentelle.

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

NORTH SIDE OF THE SALLE DU GOUVERNEMENT, FROM THE COURTYARD OF THE MERVEILLE.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ABBEY PRECINCTS.

The entrance to the Abbey, whether seen by a visitor who has toiled up the street of the town, by the pleasanter way of the fortifications, or by the more intricate path from the museum, is most impressive, and deserves more attention than it gets in the ordinary way.

A flight of stairs leading through a somewhat narrow doorway, flanked by two massive cylindrical towers, built in two main tiers, of solid granite, decoratively used here in two colours or tints, forms the **Châtelet**, the only public entrance to the Abbey building (see p. 34). Impressive as this dim and gloomy staircase (*l'escalier du gouffre*) is, the effect is ruined by the importunities of professional beggars who, unmolested by the police, ply their wearisome trade from the time of the opening of the gates till the evening. This Châtelet is of fourteenth-century work, and conceals the interesting earlier door of entrance known as Belle Chaise (1256), which is by most people overlooked. It was strongly fortified with a portcullis, the machinery for which still exists.

Of this earlier gateway, the **Salle des Gardes** (D in plan A) —the entrance hall in which the various parties wait their turn for the necessary guides—is of considerable interest. The roof is quite simply vaulted, and the picturesqueness of the place is increased by the variation of the level of the floor.

A fireplace of fifteenth-century work confronts the visitor on entering, with a door to the left giving access to one floor of the Tour Perrine, now appropriated to the guides. From this room a cunningly contrived opening in the mortar between two blocks of granite enables the guides in attendance to keep a watchful eye on the waiting visitors.

The Salle des Gardes is an excellent resting-place after the

ascent from the town, and is a good point from which to take the general bearings of the place, as plan A is drawn so as to include most of the buildings that are either actually upon, or which have their foundations in this, the lowest level of the three tiers of the Mount.

On the left of the fireplace is a window from which a view of the south-east can be obtained, with the long range of steps

Photochrom Co.]

THE SALLE DES GARDES.

inside the ramparts (*les monteux*). To the right of the door of entrance into the Salle is a fifteenth-century doorway, made by Pierre le Roy (fifteenth century), to connect the Cour de la Merveille with Belle Chaise, and in this court, on the right, are the quarters of the custodian in chief. At the end of this court stands the noble pile known as the *Merveille*, the door to the **Almonry**, or Aumônerie, on the ground level, the Salle des Hôtes above, and on the top the restored refectory ; and on the left-hand side is the staircase which communicates with the range

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

STEPS LEADING TO THE CHURCH AND THE ABBOT'S BRIDGE.

of buildings at the apsidal end of the church, on the level of the Crypte des Gros Piliers. It is through the lower court that

the visitors will return after making the round of the buildings, which is unfortunately arranged at present in such a way that the oldest portion of the buildings is visited last of all.

Near to the main steps and built partly over this entrance hall is a fine room—not at present shown—known as the *Salle du Gouvernement*, or the Salle des Officiers (N in plan B). This room, which is about half the length of the almonry, communicates by one staircase and door with the Crypte des Gros Piliers beneath the choir of the church, and by another with the abbatial buildings.

Returning to the Salle des Gardes, in which, by the way, visitors of old had to leave their arms,[1] the visitor will get a view of the long range of steps which gives access to the Abbey church. The view is picturesque, the more so as the stairway winds, owing to the position of the rock upon which the whole place is built. To the left are the abbatial buildings, first the offices of the steward (*procure*) and the bailiff (FF in plan A), through which there was a private means of access to the terraces and gardens below, and thence to the town.

Beyond are the abbot's quarters, from the first floor of which there is a fortified bridge, itself a piece of restoration work, communicating with the south-east chapel of the crypt—no doubt a great convenience to the abbot and his guests, as it afforded a common-sense solution of the problem "which is the shortest way to the Salle des Hôtes."

Up to the end of the eighteenth century the military governor of the Mount lived in rooms in the Grand Exil here on the left, and it was his business to lower the portcullis and so shut off all communication between the military and the monastic quarters. Friction between the parties was bound to occur, as can be seen in Dom Le Roy's account of the citation of the Sieur de Murynais (*lieutenant du capitaine de la place*) to appear before the Parliament of Louis XII. in 1509 on the ground that he vexatiously shut the gates too early at night and opened them too late in the morning.[2]

Just beyond this on the right, at the top of the flight of steps

[1] Adhaeret huic portae domus prima custodiarum, ubi ab ingressuris, si qua habeant arma, deponuntur, nisi ea retinere permittat monasterii prior, qui arcis proefectus est.—MABILLON, "Annales Benedict."

[2] Par despit faisoit fermer les portes trop tost le soir, et ouvrir trop tard le matin.

(Y in plan B), is the site of a cistern, placed there in the fifteenth century. From this point the view down the flight of steps will take in most of the block of domestic buildings on this side of the church—from the thirteenth-century work of Abbot de Tustin (1250) to the late fourteenth-century work finished by Nicolas le Vitrier and Geoffroy de Servon.

These abbatial buildings are not at present shown, and to the ordinary visitor they would not be of any great interest. Most of the windows have been defaced and fitted with modern sashes. Many of the rooms have been divided and sub-divided, and portions subtracted to make passages and corridors, as the means of access in monastic times was by no means ideal. All the changes have been to the detriment of the architectural character of the buildings, and the most recent changes—viz., those made during the last occupation by the missionary priests from Avranches—were certainly most unfortunate.

The **Salle du Gouvernement** (or the Salle des Officiers)—it is not now shown—is a fine room, and forms an important part of Belle Chaise. It is over the upper portion of the Salle des Gardes, and its position, as will be seen (N in plan B), was most conveniently situated for the head-quarters of the garrison, for it could be easily reached from the abbot's quarters, from the Crypte des Gros Piliers (A), from the Tour Perrine (O), and from the Salle des Gardes.

This room was built by Tustin, but was altered slightly by Pierre le Roy when, in 1393, he built the Châtelet. The window on the north was built up, and the window opening next to it was partly used as a passage. On the eastern side, as will be seen from the outside, the erection of the Tour Perrine involved the loss of half of one of the windows in the south-east corner, and Le Roy's projected infirmaries involved the loss of two more. Since that time the vaulted roof has gone. The room is worth seeing, if possible before it is restored, as the proportions are good, as also are the thirteenth-century windows and the vast chimney-piece. It is easy to picture the councils of war held here by the men who fought so long and so bravely against the English, and later on against the Huguenots.

At the top of the long flight of stairs is the platform (H plan C) known as Beauregard—or more usually as **Saut-Gaultier**,

either from the mad sculptor who, having been imprisoned here by Francois I. for several years, is said to have leaped for freedom from this platform and perished in his third attempt on the rocks below; or from an earlier occurrence of a somewhat similar kind, when a man named Gualterus leaped down to show his lady-love how much he loved her. A Saltus Gualteri is mentioned as early as the thirteenth century by M. de la Coy de la Marche; but this Saltus at the Mount did not exist till the fifteenth century. The view from this point is very extensive, and in clear weather Mont Dol is the chief feature in the far distance, with a panoramic view of the mainland.

Immediately below the platform are the early works of Abbot Robert de Torigni, consisting mainly of parallel passages running towards the south, and which formed the entrance for the goods, which were hauled up an inclined plane by means of a wheel from the lower level, to which access was given by the road rising gently from the Tour des Pêcheurs or Tour des Fanils.

On this platform was a large crucifix, before which pilgrims performed their devotions, and rested awhile after their long and toilsome ascent from the town. At the eastern side of this platform is a range of buildings which, dating from the fifteenth century, were used as an almonry. Inside is a portion of a screen, of the same character as the external windows and the sculptured work immediately below them. These rooms occupy all the space that is available to the south of the south aisle of the nave, and extend up to the west wall of the south transept, though this extension work is of much later date, as is also the building between this Almonry and the wall of the aisle.

On the western side of this same platform are some much modernised buildings on the site of a former infirmary. They are situated immediately over the interesting chapel of S. Etienne (for which see p. 106). The whole of this south-west corner of the buildings has had to be very carefully repaired and strengthened, as the fall of Robert de Torigni's hostelry did more damage structurally than is at first sight apparent.

THE EAST END OF THE CHOIR AND HIGH ALTAR.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABBEY CHURCH.

THE church proper is entered, as a rule, by the door in the south aisle of the nave, lately restored to some extent, from the sixteenth-century platform called Beauregard, or sometimes Miranda, or Saut-Gaultier.

In the doorway, which is partly blocked, is a smaller and probably a temporary door. The tympanum contains a modern representation of S. Michel slaying the Dragon, carried out in Caen stone—a material which seems incongruous with the more rugged granite of the walls, and strikes the eye more forcibly than it does in the comparative shelter of the cloister.

Of the nave itself it is difficult to say very much. It has been so mutilated by the hand of man, and so defaced and scarred by accidental fires, that total reconstruction has been recommended, and will shortly be taken in hand. The four tower piers at the crossing were finished by 1900, and the rest is to follow. The word "restoration" is dear to the French architect of to-day, and on the whole, when he restores he does it thoroughly, and, from his point of view, thoroughly well. The Rev. J. L. Petit, in the preface to his "Architectural Studies in France," well said: "Occasional repair may be necessary, both with a view to the stability of the fabric, and the purposes assigned to it; but beyond this the architect who respects the work of our mediæval ancestors, ought not to go. The cases in which the rebuilding of the whole, or a great part, of an old fabric, is demanded, will probably be found to be more rare and exceptional than we are at present disposed to imagine; and even the repair of sculptural decoration, and especially the reproduction of ornaments belonging to the earlier styles, is, I take it, altogether wrong in principle."

M. P. Gout, in his most interesting and scholarly book "L'Histoire et l'Architecture française au Mont S. Michel," thinks differently, and his opinion is given in the note.[1] Unfortunately, *vieille tradition*, to which he refers, seems to be based upon what can only be called the pernicious example of M. Viollet-le-Duc, who has restored, *inter alia*, the château of Pierrefonds, Notre Dame at Paris, etc. His view of restoration is well known,[2] but, as a matter of fact, it is not restoration any more than the work carried out at the cathedral churches of Bristol or St. Albans.

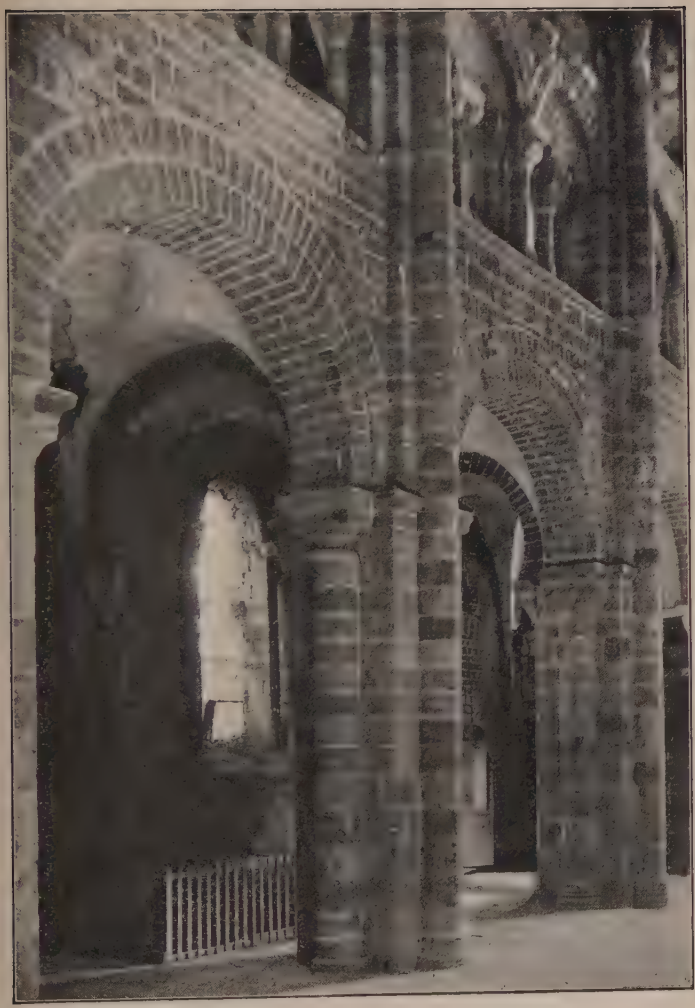
After the fire of 1834, the roof had been patched with lath and plaster work, and the same was done in the south transept. But the effects of the damage done by the fire made themselves apparent from time to time, and twenty years ago the south transept had to be shored up to prevent its downfall.

Rebuilding then, as being considered to be the only alternative to the complete destruction of the greater part of the church, was decided upon, and the tower, another dangerous part of the building, was done first, from the designs of the late M. Petitgrand. The mistake in the proposed restoration scheme consists in the rebuilding of the church approximately as it was left by Robert de Torigni.

The **Nave**, as it was in 1901, consisted of four bays with narrow aisles, on the north and south sides. The original roof of wood had long ago been destroyed by fire, and the then existing roof was a sham of lath and plaster erected after the fire of 1834. It was supported by massive piers, square in plan, with engaged columns on each face. In the nave these columns are carried almost half way up the clerestory, and are terminated with fine bold capitals intended to support

[1] La Commission des Monuments historiques, à laquelle sont soumis tous les projets, et qui envisage toutes ces questions de restauration avec une haute compétence et une rectitude de vues qui sont, chez elle, de vieille tradition, limite généralement adjourd'hui ces opérations aux mesures de conservation qui s'imposent, et à la restitution des parties disparues dont le rétablissement est indispensable, et peut s'opérer sans danger pour l' integrité des dispositions anciennes.—P. 233.

[2] Ce n'est pas l'entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire : c'est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné. . . . Le mot et la chose sont modernes, et, en effet, aucune civilisation, aucun peuple, dans les temps écoulés, n'a entendu faire des restaurations comme nous les comprenons aujourd'hui.



H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

THE NAVE ARCADE.

the rafters. Most of the piers and columns have been repaired with plaster mixed with the disintegrated granite found in the débris after the fire, and some of them were inscribed 1838, others 1860. There were clear evidences of a slight difference in date in the two sides of the nave, as could be seen by noting that the cable moulding which runs all round the nave had grotesque heads in places on the north side, while the south side was left quite plain. Again, in the archivolts of the several bays of the nave the recessing is much deeper on the north than on the south side.

In the triforium of the nave each bay is divided into two, each of which is again subdivided by a central pier. Some slight variety is obtained by the difference in the filling of the tympana of the larger divisions.

The clerestory windows are round-headed with a roundel moulding at the edge. They have been glazed in many cases with common diamond lattice work, which has perished and fallen to pieces.

The aisles, which are narrow, are vaulted with plain quadripartite unribbed vaulting. In that to the north, in the easternmost bay is a door which gave access to the cloister, and to a room on the left, which is also approached by the door in the next bay in the aisle. In the third bay is a door communicating with another room, which at one time seems to have been part of the original dormitory. The fourth bay, which since 1776-1780 has been the last bay of the nave, was found in 1875 to contain the upper portion of the staircase which led to the northern portion of the eleventh-century Charnier. A similar staircase was found in 1875 in the south aisle and is shown in plan B.

Originally the nave extended three bays more to the west, with a front containing a central porch and two flanking towers (see p. 17). The end of the nave had to be removed in 1776, as there was some fear of the collapse of the towers, and four years later the Renaissance front was built. It has been the custom to cast many aspersions on the west front, but, hybrid as it was, it was at least honest. The builders built as they knew, without attempting to revive the style of the twelfth century, and they saved the building from total collapse. Had they rebuilt the nave as it had been before—of seven bays—the researches of 1875 would probably have

never been made, or at any rate made very much later on in time, and many of the existing arrangements would have been much more difficult to understand. Without expressing any great admiration for the west end, built in the Jesuits' style, one may be allowed to express a wish—for that is all that can now be done—that the restorers had decided to leave it, not, as one writer wittily put it, that the student might be able to study all the French styles on the spot, but as a historical record in the life of the church.

Stepping outside this western door, it is interesting to note that underneath the paving of the platform—now made water-tight, to the great benefit of the buildings below it—were found the stone coffins of Robert de Torigni and Martin de Furmendeio, the two abbots who from 1154 to 1191 did so much for the building of their Abbey and their church. The rooms to the north of the north aisle of the nave were part of the dormitory in monastic times. Much has been altered, much pulled down, and the length of the old dormitory itself curtailed by the rebuilding of the west front in 1776. The room nearest to the north transept seems from internal evidence to have been the calefactory, or some portion of it. Westward of this would be the dormitory proper, with its door of access to the nave in the third bay from the crossing, and its door to the eleventh-century latrines. Assuming from the plans of M. Corroyer and others that this dormitory went as far as the earlier west front of the church, the length would have been about 92 feet, or the same as the south side of the cloister.

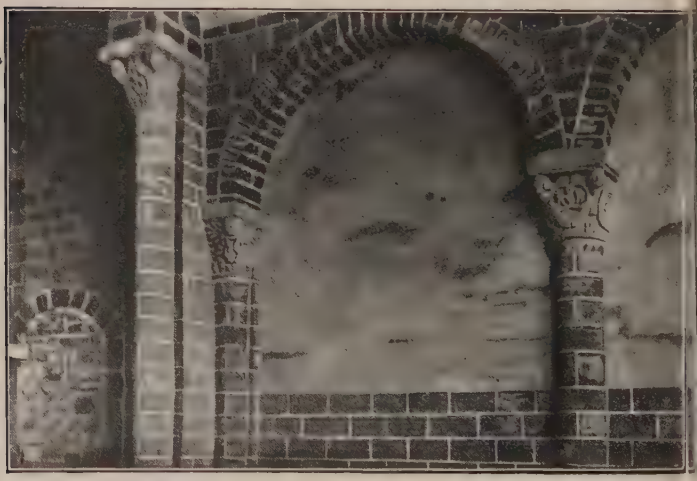
In the seventeenth century the old dormitory became a recreation room, and was adorned with pictures—being known as the *Salle Souvré*.[1] The prison authorities converted this range of buildings into kitchens. During the last clerical occupation of the place the calefactory was used as a sacristy.

The South Transept.—The aisle in this transept has been cleared. The transept is more symmetrical in shape than that on the north, and, mainly owing to the fact of its posi-

[1] A costé de la nef de d'église vers le dit septentrion, entre le dit cloître d'un bout et icelle nef, est une grande salle fort large, belle et spacieuse, pleine de cartes et tableaux dévots, en laquelle les moines se promènent quand il fait mauvais temps. Autrefois c'estoit le dortoir des moines.—MS. 13,818, Bibliothèque Nationale.

tion (as seen in plan C), has not been interfered with by late structural alterations. The apsidal chapel, with its entranc under a very much larger arch, borne upon large capitals, ha not been altered, and the window in the east end is partly open.

On the south side, which is quite different from the nortl end of the other transept, the wall is divided into two part by a large central column, from which spring two round-heade



H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT WALL.

arches, supported in the east and west angles of the transept by similar columns, all with massive capitals. In the upper spaces under these arches are large round-headed windows, the architraves of which are several times recessed. Above these two windows is a circular window partly concealed by the commonplace lath and plaster ceiling.

In the eastern half of this south wall is a door giving access to the little bridge, lately restored after the fashion of its predecessor, which was a means of communication from the upper story of the abbatial buildings which formed the outer

shell on this (south) side of the Mount. A carved granite panel over the door contains five crosses.

The western side is more than half blank wall, and is lighted by a small window in the south-west angle—its size being limited by the buildings outside the transept on the west. A small door to the right of this window communicates with the chapel beneath the transept dedicated formerly to S. Martin, but converted into a water cistern, and also with the tower above. On this wall once stood a record of the 119 knights who took up their quarters at the Mount to defend it against the English.

The chapels of this south transept have had many different names. At one time the whole transept was known as the chapel of S. John the Evangelist, and the apsidal eastern chapel was the reliquary. Later these relics gave a name to the chapel; then it was the chapel of S. Sauveur, or of Notre Dame de Pitié, and also the chapel of the Trinity. It was known as this latter in 1509, for Dom Le Roy tells us that the abbot, Guillaume de Lamps, restored the walls of the chapel of the Trinity and of the chapel of S. Martin below. A century later the transept contained a chapel dedicated to S. Benedict. In the chapel of S. Martin were buried Conan Duke of Brittany, his son Geoffrey, and Roland, Archbishop of Dol. In it Guillaume de Lamps set up a mill worked by horses (*une pièce fort rare pour sa façon et grandeur*), and later on an enormous cylindrical cistern was built therein.

The transepts, together with the space under the tower, measure 120 feet, with a width of 25½ feet and a height of about 40 feet.

The **North Transept**, as will be seen from plan **C**, is irregular in shape, as a piece was cut off to make practicable a staircase in the north-east corner, so as to give access to the rooms between the church and the refectory. This staircase is for the most part built in the space once occupied, as in the sister transept, by an apsidal chapel, now walled up. Access was given to the choir by a Renaissance-work doorway, now sadly mutilated.

The north wall consists of thirteenth-century work for the most part, and is lighted by four pointed lights of equal height and varying width, with three circular windows of different sizes introduced to fill up the space between the

heads of the pointed lights and the mouldings of the lar round-headed arch above. This window has a curious effec owing to the insertion of the three circular windows abov the window in the refectory close by is another very tentativ design. Below the window are two round-headed arche each with four mouldings, springing from very gracef clustered columns at the sides, and in the central dividin pier. Most of the wall is plaster work, mixed with granit

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

CARVED PANEL: THE RESURRECTION.

and the barrel roof is lath and plaster. In both transept it will be noted that the vaulting of the space between th transept proper and the crossing is of the same height as th latter, and the effect is curious.

The north transept seems to have had in early times but on chapel in it—viz., that dedicated to S. Nicolas, before whic the two abbots, Nicolas Alexandre and Nicolas Fanigot, wer buried. It is possible that the altar had been dedicated by th former of these two abbots. From 1863 onwards there wa

n altar dedicated to S. Michel in this transept, and it served s a chapel for the sporadic pilgrimages which began to be nade to the Mount.

The Choir and Ambulatory.—The original choir, vhich collapsed in 1421, was, according to M. Corroyer, ouilt on the same lines as the existing choir at Cérisy-la-Forêt. Nothing seems to have been done until 1452, when Guillaume

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

CARVED PANEL: THE EXPULSION FROM EDEN.

d'Estouteville began his work by rebuilding the Crypte des Gros Piliers and laying down the foundations of the choir. André de Laure finished the windows of the choir proper and glazed them with stained glass (1482–1499). Guillaume de Lamps, who died in 1510, finished the triforium. He worked hard with the various buildings that were in progress, and as Dom Le Roy quaintly says, "would have finished the church if he had not died of old age." Perhaps the fire of 1509

disheartened him, for the next year he died, and it was his brother, who was abbot from 1514 to 1521, who finished the *opus novum.*

In the first bay on the north side is a graceful little Renaissance doorway with delicately carved architraves. After passing through the arch a door communicating with the staircase to the refectory will be seen, with a panel above it bearing a blazon of five crosses. Here, too, will be seen traces of the changes made in the seventeenth century, when one of the windows, of the same date as the rest of the choir, was partly blocked out with masonry.

The *first* chapel, which, like all the others, is raised but one step of a few inches above the level of the choir, contains two Renaissance panels from the transept—that on the west wall in coloured Caen stone being a Resurrection, that on the east representing the expulsion from Eden, with the Serpent in the tree. The roof is a plain vault, and the bosses and pendants are missing. In the wall is an aumbry and also a piscina.

The *second* chapel contains an aumbry and a piscina which at first sight scarcely seem to be of granite, so much decayed is the stone. In this chapel the altar stood against the east wall. The pavement contains a cross composed of diamond-shaped pieces of black marble inserted in a buff-coloured stone. No certain dedication is attributed to either of these chapels, though one may have been dedicated to S. Peter. A picture is said by Dom Le Roy to have been placed in a chapel dedicated to that saint in 1643.

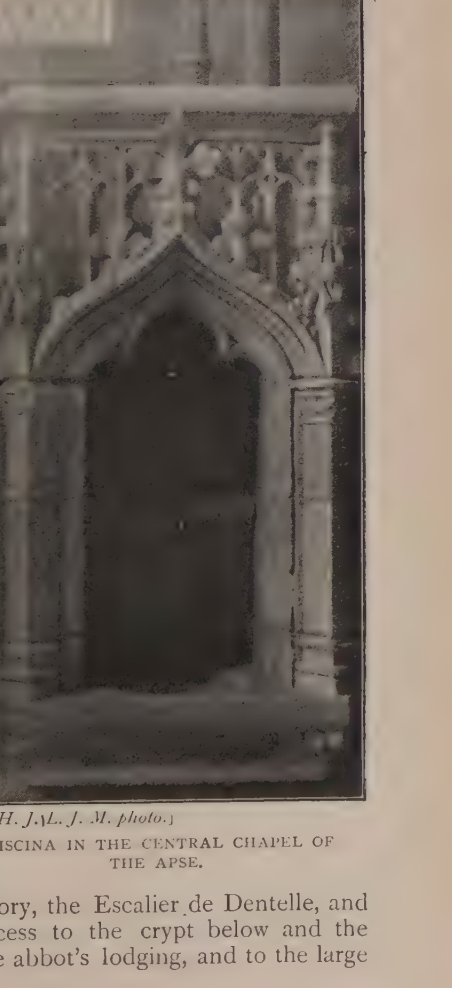
The *third* chapel, dedicated to S. Michel, shows traces of the stone altar-slab, and the floor contains an inlaid cross, also in pieces of black marble. The vaulting ribs in this chapel spring from the wall very gradually, without the introduction of any capitals—a feature which will be seen to perfection in the graceful though massive columns in the Crypte des Gros Piliers, which is underneath the choir.

The *fourth* chapel—that in the centre of the apse—was dedicated originally to Notre Dame, and in the seventeenth century became the Chapelle des Trente Cierges, and is somewhat more elaborately wrought than any of the others. Engaged and clustered columns rising from the floor carry the vaulting ribs with their delicate bosses. The chapel contains an

umbry in the north wall, and there is an elaborate piscina vith a canopy. Formerly the tombs of Guillaume de Lamps 1513) and of his brother ean (1523) were in this hapel.

The *fifth* chapel, dedi-ated to S. Anne, is the ame in its details as he third—to which in he plan it corresponds. ormerly, the tomb of Guillaume de Solier 1535) was in this hapel, and that of nother famous man, ouis de la Moricière, he Roman Catholic hampion who was illed in 1590 at Pon-orson by La Coudraye. His helmet, lance, and hield were here till the atter half of the seven-eenth century; his wife vas buried in the same hapel in 1620.

The *sixth* chapel, edicated to S. Martin, s one of the most im-ortant points in the hoir, or rather in the hurch, as the little door n the wall on the right ot only communicates vith the triforium of the hoir, the leads, and the lying buttresses which ustain the upper part of the choir and the clerestory, the Escalier de Dentelle, and he roof, but also gives access to the crypt below and the ortified bridge leading to the abbot's lodging, and to the large



H. J. L. J. M. photo.]
PISCINA IN THE CENTRAL CHAPEL OF THE APSE.

and important room, not at present shown, known as the Salle des Officiers, or Salle du Gouvernement, where the military and general councils were held. In addition to the aumbry and piscina—features found in all these chapels—there are two well-preserved brackets at either side of the central light of the window.

In the *seventh* chapel, dedicated to Notre Dame de Pitié after the seventeenth century, the roof is comparatively plain with two very diminutive bosses. On the east wall are two much worn and brittle brackets with traces of arms upon them and on the west wall four panels in coloured Caen stone which were no doubt intended originally to represent the four evangelists, but have suffered in their removal from the choir. The chapel was at one time divided into two parts, as the difference in the tiling shows. There are other indications of this, viz., an iron ring in the single pier, as well as marks in the south wall near the piscina.

In the choir proper there are two bays with quadripartite vaulting, and a chevet of seven sides. The clerestory windows in the apsidal portion have two lights to each section of the apse, and the triforium has corresponding panels, each again subdivided into two, while in the two bays the clerestory windows have each three lights.

It has been usual to dwell much on the execution of the work in this flamboyant choir, and to consider it the ideal of perfection in granite masonry, as shown in the mouldings and the stonework generally; but it is the conception of the whole plan, with the unfailing co-ordination of every detail, in itself the outcome of a ripened experience and unerring judgment, that is all the more to be admired. As specimens of equally wonderful execution in the same material, it is possible to adduce the delicate sculpture in the Salle des Chevaliers or in the Salle des Hôtes, done by the masons three centuries before. Those who do not appreciate the flamboyant style should reserve their judgment until they have studied the choir, inside and out, of Mont S. Michel.

It is a long interval from 1020 to 1520, but the comparison of the work of the two dates is interesting, as both are essentially characteristic. As M. Corroyer has well put it, "the nave is the expression of our national art at its birth, simple, crude perhaps, but strong, and already showing the

THE TRIFORIUM OF THE CHOIR

evelopment it will take, and foreshadowing the mighty orks that it will go on producing for several centuries. The hoir is the product of this art when it has arrived at its ighest point of development, learned, rich, refined, and vith a tendency towards mannerism, the certain sign of its mpending decadence."

On the other hand, M. Corroyer in his "Gothic Architecture" ays of this choir: "This part of the church shows the effect f the decadence of which there had been signs as early as the nd of the thirteenth century. Some of the arrangements are ery ingenious, particularly that of the triforium . . . which orms, as seen from the outside, a series of small apses projecting rom the main wall. The masonry, however, is careless, specially in the flying buttresses. . . . The lines are ttenuated by a multiplicity of mouldings to an almost thread-ike slenderness, the spring of the arches is unmarked by ny capitals, the intricate mullions of the window add to he wire-drawn effect, and help to dwarf the proportions of he building. There is, beyond the extreme cleverness of the nasons, nothing to admire. The carving of the granite is ery noticeable—so too, the ornamental sculpture; it is xecuted with marvellous skill in spite of the excessive ccumulation of detail."

The whole choir has been re-edified, made water-tight, and glazed, not with stained glass, but the simplest of plain glazing, vith the same charming effect as has been obtained in the Refectory. Variety has been secured by the choice of different geometrical patterns or schemes of arrangements, and enough colour by the contrast of faint pinks and delicate green tones. The light which enters the choir is beautifully subdued and agrees well with the colour of the granite walls. A fine effect is obtained by the choir being built on one uniform level from aisle to aisle and from the crossing to the apse. There is nothing in the church now to break the view of the whole eastern portion—no screen to shut off the choir from the ambulatory, nothing to attract the eye. A choir plain and unadorned like this is inspiring of a far more devotional spirit than any of the bedecked and bedizened specimens which are now unfortunately almost universal. In its simple grace and wonderful beauty it is like a statue just fresh from the hand of a master-sculptor.

As in most Benedictine foundations, the ritual cho extended under the crossing and into the nave, from whic it was separated by a screen adorned on the outside b heraldic blazons, and on the inside by bas-reliefs, some c which are in the adjacent chapels, and by frescoes. In th seventeenth century two altars were established outside th screen in the nave—on the north side, one to S. Michel; o the south, one to commemorate the Cross.

The triforium of the choir, with the buttresses, can b studied best from the outside on the leads. It will b noticed how the gallery, for structural reasons, is no carrried through the main piers of the choir and the apse, bu round them, and thus practically outside the lines of th choir proper.

On the strong buttressing walls of the chevet which separat the various chapels are raised solid piers of graceful masonry which each, by means of two flying buttresses, simple i type and arrangement, counteract the thrust borne by th piers of the apse. In the three bays on either side nearest t the transepts the buttresses are connected by cross-arms fro east to west. This shows conclusively that the fifteenth an sixteenth-century builders intending to rebuild the transept and the nave, provided the supports they considered necessar for them. As they are at present, they are unnecessary.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE MERVEILLE.

The Merveille, as will be seen from this chapter, comprises the whole of the buildings on the north side of the island—in three stages, each stage of two parts. A detailed study of this part of the buildings alone would occupy all the space that is available for the description of the Mount as a whole, but there are one or two points which require particular consideration.

As is pointed out on pp. 19, 20, where the exterior of the Merveille is dealt with, the received theory in France is that the whole block of buildings was completed as we now see it in five-and-twenty years. In itself this is not an impossible limit of time, but the theory involves a negation of the long-cherished French belief that in Gothic architecture France was always well in advance of her contemporaries and neighbours, after the manner of a capable instructress.

There are, however, other theories current, and they must here, as briefly as possible, be examined and criticised.

M. Jacques, in his guide, argues from points of dissimilarity in the buttresses, the windows, the pillars of the interior, the break in the joint at the end of the Almonry, and the existence of a staircase in each of the two towers of the north wall, that the Cellar, together with the Salle des Chevaliers and the walls of the cloister, were mainly the work of Ranulfe de Bayeux in 1060; further, that the work was then interrupted and finally completed in the eastern addition by Roger II. (1106-1122). This theory, ingenious though it is, antedates the work of the Merveille as a whole by more than a century, and *pro tanto* fails. Against this there is the authority of M. Corroyer, who argues strongly for the unity of the whole

pile; also that of the various authorities (following Dom Huynes) giving almost chapter and verse for the different members of the Merveille and the years 1203–1228 for the time of building. This date, however, rather postdates by nearly ninety years the lower parts of the Merveille, for the Aumônerie, or Almonry, would seem to date itself somewhere just before 1125, and the cellar is of about the same date. It seems possible that the Aumônerie contains part of the stables built by Roger II. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (18,947) says that he "in the third stage, counting from the top, fitted up stables, the arches being wonderfully balanced upon the top of (other) arches."[1] Gallia Christiana mentions a *magnificam aulam equitum*.

Now here, apparently, is the germ from which the Merveille —for such it has always been called—eventually grew. The idea of Roger II.'s stables, with the "arches superimposed on other arches in a wonderful way," is the conspicuous idea of the whole Merveille. Assume for a moment that his stables were here, with the door that leads from the Aumônerie as one of its external doors—for it is fitted with space for double doors to be held firmly by bars sliding in mortices in the wall. The staircase in the corner gives colour to the theory that this wall was once, if only for a short time, an outside wall.

There is no direct evidence to show how high at first the buildings were carried up, though the words *fornicibus libratis* imply there was an upper stage or stages in the work. The original room above or the adjacent cellar may have been the Officinæ, or workshops, especially mentioned as not having been destroyed by the fire in 1138.

The addition of the Cellier, or cellar, seems to have been decided upon soon, as the manuscript above quoted mentions *cameras lapideas*, and its date is approximately 1120, or some date just before the retirement of Roger II. (1122)—for his successor, Richard de Mère, was not a man to spend his time on the Abbey.

Dom Huynes, too, makes a statement which looks as though the Merveille was built in two separate vertical sections. He says, writing of Abbot Jourdain: "In his abbacy the church was burned by the Bretons, and was rebuilt by him—roof,

[1] In tertio ordine, deorsum stabula equorum fornicibus super fornices libratis mirabiliter, adaptavit.

tower,[1] refectory, dormitory, cellar—through the generosity of Philip the French King."

Bernard the Venerable, from 1131 to 1149, does not seem to have touched the Merveille, but, after the debts of Richard de Mère had been paid, began the rebuilding of the north part of the nave, which had been in ruins since 1103, and when that was finished built a wooden tower over the crossing. He also built a priory at Tombelaine, and another at Brion, near Genêts.

The fire of 1138 is mentioned in the chronicles of Robert de Torigni.[2]

There is no further mention of Bernard's work on the buildings, and his successor, who was only abbot one year and eight months, left behind him large debts caused by the grasping demands and exactions of Henry II. of England. The next two abbots, Dom Le Roy says, "nous ne mettons point au rang des abbés de céans," and it is in Robert de Torigni's time that the Abbey, as Le Roy says, began to breathe again. During his long rule the substructures were modified and completed. Of these works Dom Le Roy only says generally that they were finished in 1164.

These works probably included the revaulting or restoring of the Promenoir. There is nothing to show that Robert de Torigni attempted anything on the work of the Merveille.

Martin, his successor, only ruled for four years, and was followed by abbot Jourdain (1191-1212), to whom may be attributed safely much of the Merveille, as the date tallies with the architecture.

Jourdain, with the Crypte de l'Aquilon (lately rebuilt by Robert de Torigni) supporting the Promenoir, and the Aumônerie with its possible superstructure or superstructures, seems to have decided to carry on the idea to completion after the disastrous fire of 1203 which destroyed the monastery. His plan seems to have been to utilise all the existing buildings as far as possible, and to strengthen considerably

[1] Probably the Tour des Corbins.

[2] "Anno MCXXXVIII debacatione Abrincensium furentium combustum est castrum Montis excepta ecclesia et officinis monachorum, mense Augusto." As Dom Le Roy says: "Ce luy fut un revers bien rude à supporter. Mais les gens de bien font de nécessité vertu. Une chose le consola que l'esglise ne fust nullement endommagée quoy que le reste du monastère fût ars."

the exposed north wall. Dying in 1211, apparently not at al regretted, he seems to have left the completion of his plans to Raoul des Iles. Jourdain had probably refaced the sea front of the Aumônerie and the Cellier, and the rooms now known as the Salle des Hôtes and Salle des Chevaliers, both being approximately the work of the last decade or decade and a half of the twelfth century.

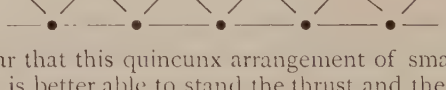
Abbot Jourdain is generally credited with building, in the span of eight years only, the tower[1] and the refectory, the dormitory and the cellar—an excessive amount of work for an unpopular abbot, who was accused of many misdeameanours by his *confrères*.

The refectory, too, is of the same date, and Dom Le Roy in writing that some manuscripts mention this fact, says "Mais il est constaté que l'abbé Roger l'avoit fait bastir." The cloister is credited sometimes to Thomas des Chambres who, according to Dom Le Roy,[2] did nothing of note.

This part of the work was presumably finished by Raoul de Villedieu, who ruled from 1225 to 1236, and the work accords better with this later date.

This account is not that generally received as to the date of the building of the Merveille, but it seems a workmanlike theory, not in conflict with documentary and architectural facts.

The **Cloister** (plan C), was begun by Thomas des Chambres about 1220 and finished by Raoul de Villedieu towards 1228. In the opinion of M. Viollet-le-Duc,[3] it is one of the most curious and perfect of those in existence. The arcading consists of two parallel ranges of columns and arches which alternate with or overlap each other, and are connected by diagonal ribs forming triangular vaulting cells:—



It is clear that this quincunx arrangement of small columns thus placed is better able to stand the thrust and the movement

[1] Presumably the Tour des Corbins, again rebuilt by Abbot Pierre Le Roy.

[2] Dom Huynes and Dom Le Roy both compiled their notes within a few years of each other. If their work had been more carefully done, it would have been invaluable.

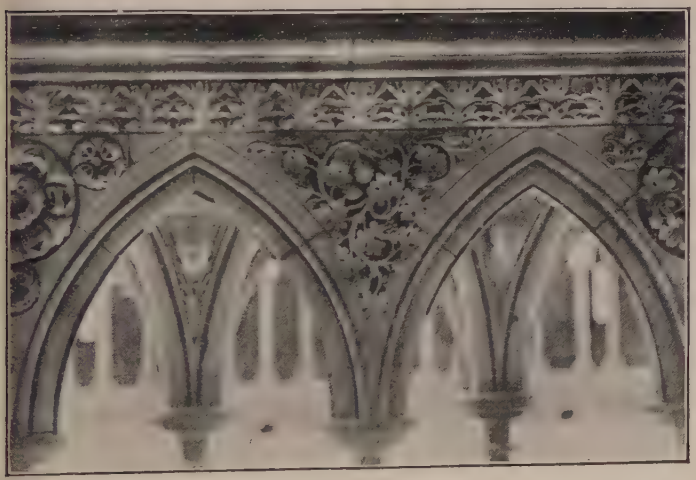
[3] "Dict. raisonné," vol. iii. p. 454.

Photochrom Co.]

THE CLOISTER, FROM THE WEST.

of a roof than columns arranged in pairs, for the diagonal arches present a double resistance to these thrusts, stay the construction, and steady the rows of small columns. There is no need to point out that a weight resting on three feet is more steady than if it rested on two or four—and this arcade is nothing more than a succession of tripods.

The capitals on the arcading of the outer walls of the cloister are of granite from the island of Chausey, and are



H. J. L. J. M. photo.]
CARVED SPANDRILS OF THE CLOISTER.

carved, while those of the slender columns round the open cloister court, as are also the mouldings of the main arches, are quite simple and plain. In this way they help to throw out in strong relief the delicate carvings of the spandrils, and the intricate work in the long row of roses above them. The diagonal ribs between the main piers are enriched with crockets.

The roofing of the cloister is said to be a restoration of what the roof once was, but the glazed tiles do not harmonise with anything else in the building—the glaze is overdone, and gives a polished effect which is not wanted in a roof, and

especially in a roof where everything else is subdued in tone. If the original colouring of the cloister—it can only be seen here and there—had come down to our time, the note struck by these tiles would have been still more discordant.

All the carving of the cloister, much of which has been restored, is in Caen stone, and this is the only place in the Abbey where it has been used to any extent. It has stood the ravages of time, prisoners, and visitors extremely well, considering the soft nature of the stone and the exposed situation of the greater part of the cloisters. The men who carved in granite the graceful mouldings in the Salle des Chevaliers could no doubt have carved the cloisters in the same material, but for some reason the lighter stone was selected. It was all painted at one time, but the traces, owing to the exposed situation and the rebuilding, are very few and hard to find. The cloister court is now asphalted, so as to protect the Salle des Chevaliers, which is below, from damp penetrating. It was filled with earth in 1623, and converted into a garden by the monks of S. Maur. This garden was abolished in 1676. In the time of the prisoners the cloister was used for exercise, and engravings of it show that it was paved with wood.

The material of the slender piers is what is known in France as *granitelle*, and comes from the same quarry at Lazerne whence the original stone was brought. Mr. Prior some years ago noted that one or two of the piers were of Purbeck marble. These may have been inserted at odd times, for these slender piers, being fragile, have been apparently renewed at different times. Dom Le Roy mentions that some of them were in *fonte—i.e.*, cast in some material. M. Jacques, writing in 1877, noted that some were in stucco, some in limestone, and others in *granitelle*.

The contrast between the work in the outer and the inner walls of this cloister gives some support to the theory that the outer wall is somewhat earlier in date. This need not conflict with the inscription in a spandril in the west alley to the effect that "Sanctus Franciscus canonisatus fuit anno Domini MCCXXVIII quo claustrum istud perfectum fuit." A manuscript quoted by Bouquet ascribes the completion of the cloister to the next abbot, Richard Tustin, who began his rule in 1236.

Of the infinite variety in the treatment of the spandrils and the roses that are above them it is impossible to speak in detail: they must be seen. On the south side near the door from the church is a group with mutilated heads, behind which are found the names MAG. ROGE., DAS. GARIN, MAG. JOHAN.—*i.e.*, Magister Rogerius, Dominus Garin (Guérin), Magister Johannis. It is difficult to put an exact date to the "lettering," and impossible to say who the two

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]
SOUTH WALK OF THE CLOISTER, AND LAVATORY.

lay individuals were if they were not workmen. Das. Garin may be the monk who became abbot of Cérisy-la-Forêt.

In the west gallery is the inscription referring to S. Francis and his representation in stone, and in the same wall is S. Benedict and a Christ supported by two angels.

The north gallery wall has the Agnus Dei, and that of the east gallery, opposite the refectory, has a Christ crucified.

It will be noticed on the plan that the cloister is irregular in plan, being longest on the south side—*i.e.*, that nearest to the

church—and widest on the west side—*i.e.*, the side containing the doorway to the once projected chapter-house. This irregularity of site may have suggested the *quincunx* arrangement of the columns which effectually conceals the difference in length.

The south side contains the **Lavatory**, where on Thursday the monks performed their ablutions, ranging themselves in two tiers of seats in two bays, in which the shallow conduits

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

THE WEST WALK, WITH THE DOORWAY MADE FOR A CHAPTER-HOUSE.

by which the water was supplied can still be seen. There were twelve seats in all, the monks taking their seats on the upper row while their feet were washed for them. In this same lavatory the abbot washed the body of a deceased brother before it was buried. To make room for this lavatory Raoul de Villedieu reconstructed the wall of the north transept of the church.

On the west side, in the wall is the finely wrought doorway

which is supposed to have been built as an entrance to a chapter-house which was begun but never completed.

The north side has many small windows looking out on the open sea or the vast expanse of sands, according to the time of the tides.

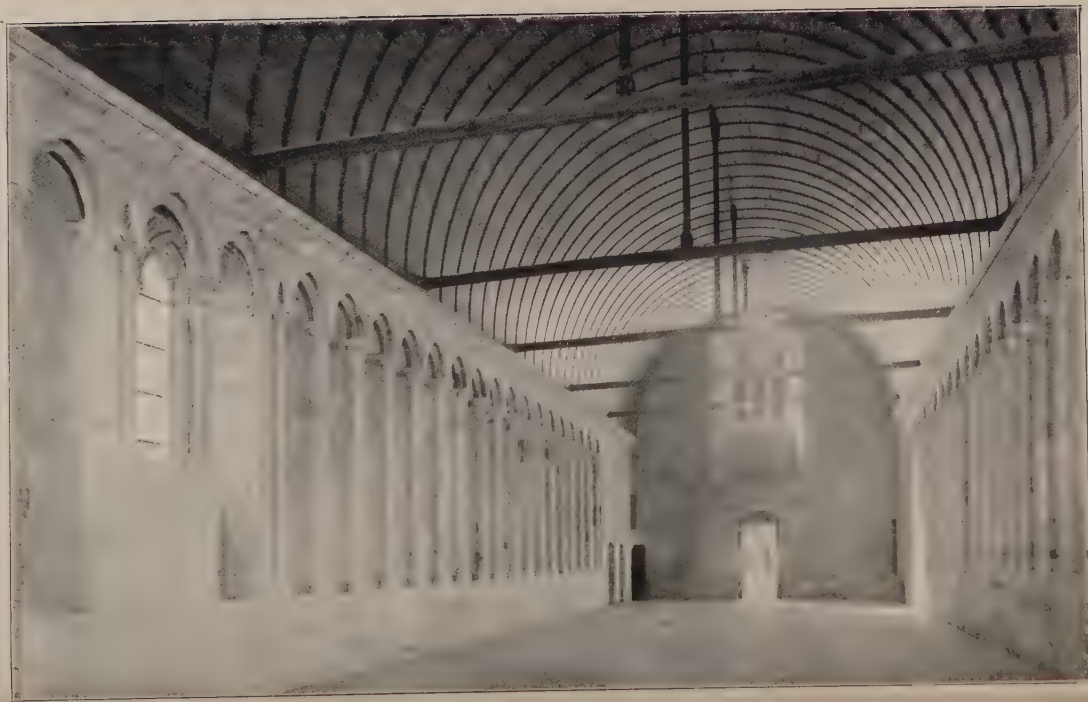
In the north-east corner is the **Chartrier**, or muniment-room, which has been completely restored, and is practically the museum of the place, as it contains nothing but genuine relics of the highest interest—viz., the leaden discs from Robert de Torigni's tomb and that of his successor, Martin; fragments of rich stuffs, stained glass, tiles, images, and pieces of sculptured work. If these objects could be displayed in cases in the now finished refectory, they would fulfil a useful purpose, as it is, they are scarcely ever seen.

This charter-room communicates by a staircase with another room below and with the Salle des Chevaliers. Dom Le Roy ascribes this muniment-room to Pierre le Roy, but it seems clearly part of the original cloister. From the corner of the cloister here a good view of the Abbey buildings can be obtained—viz., the gable of the refectory, the north transept, the new tower, and the restored pinnacles on the chapels round the apse.

In the east side is the door leading to the **Refectory** (K in plan C), which, like the cloister, has been restored as only a French architect can restore a *monument historique*. This room is said to have been finished in 1225 by Thomas des Chambres, the builder who finished the Salle des Chevaliers and who began the cloisters, and occupies a place immediately above the Salle des Hôtes.

On first entering the doorway of the Refectory the eye appreciates the lighting, which is soft and suffused, but fails to detect any windows. The latter are very long and narrow and deeply set in the wall, and are splayed on the outside so as to admit all the light that is possible. Each light is flanked by two slender columns with very simple capitals, while above the windows runs a still simpler cornice on which the roof timbers are supported.

A vaulted roof of stone was considered inadvisable by the early builders of this part of the Merveille, owing to the weight of the thrust on the exterior walls, and therefore a timber roof was constructed. The original roof was destroyed by fire



[Photochrom Co.]

soon after the building was completed, and once or twice subsequently was seriously damaged—viz., in 1300 and 1374. The present roof is entirely a reconstruction.

Under the Benedictines from S. Maur this room was divided into two stories, and then, as the upper story was found to be somewhat gloomy, the capitals were broken away, and the internal splaying of the windows modified. Much rebuilding has therefore been necessary. Worse treatment than this was inflicted by the director of the prison, as the two stories were divided into cells.[1]

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]
THE REFECTORY PULPIT.

The weather-moulding outside was a clue to the modern reconstruction of the roof, which dates from the restoration begun in 1882.

Tiles of a pleasant tone are used in the pavement, and the windows are glazed with plain glass arranged in simple geometrical patterns. There is no straining after eccentricity in the leading, and the variety of design is interesting. It is to be hoped that the Salle des Hôtes and the Salle des Chevaliers will be glazed in the same way. Any attempt at colour would in all probability be disastrous.

The windows at the two ends of the refectory call for passing notice. That at the west or cloister end consists of three narrow lights of unequal length, not extending more than

[1] Mabillon gives an engraving showing two rows of small windows, with space above for the third stage, which is said to have been a granary.

two-thirds of the height of the window, with an immense trefoil (two lobes very large and the third much smaller) in the head. At the east end are two narrow lights.

On the south wall—much restored—is the pulpit for the brother who read aloud at meals. This pulpit seems definitely to show that whatever use or uses were made of this room, it was originally built for a refectory. Apart from the position of many of the surrounding buildings which bear this out, there is the internal evidence of the shaft for what served as a lift in the south-west corner. This shaft, too, seems to point to the fact that the monastic kitchen was situated on this same floor, outside the south-west corner of the refectory—where the doors are now. This position would also be convenient for the supply of hot water for the adjacent lavatory in the cloister.

Before leaving the refectory it will be well to look at the plans in order to see how cleverly all this top floor of the Merveille was originally contrived, and how loyally the various builders adhered to the original plan.

In the south-east corner of the room is a door leading to the **Tour des Corbins**; this passage gives access to the roof of the refectory, and the staircase affords a means of exit on the ground floor of the Merveille—on the left of the door of exit from the almonry. At the western end, in the north corner, is a doorway giving access to a staircase communicating with the Salle des Chevaliers, and also with the Almonry on the ground floor. In the opposite corner is the cylindrical shaft—which served undoubtedly as a lift—for raising water to the level of the lavatory in the cloister, and for sending food up from the kitchens when these were downstairs, and for sending down broken meats, etc., from the refectory to the almonry. There was also here till lately a passage communicating with a library. The cloister has its staircase of communication with the Salle des Chevaliers, but it is concealed in the wall of the Chartrier, and this staircase is interrupted in its course in the latter room, and begins again slightly more to the eastward. This may account for the later date given to the Chartrier by Dom Le Roy—viz., 1406.

As to the block of buildings which once existed to the south of the refectory, it is interesting to learn from a letter of Frère Julien Doyte to the Abbé Mabillon in 1706 that a

building in four stories was there, its first stage being on the same level as the lower, so-called refectory—*i.e.*, the Salle des Hôtes of to-day. The lowest stage was a *lavoir*, or washing-place; above it, a guest-room; above this a parlour, or *chambre commune*; and above this, again, a library. Frère Doyte also adds that there was only a distance of about 6 feet between the apse of the church and this building, which he says served for an entrance to the monastery.

The **Salle des Hôtes** (K in plan B)—or, as M. Corroyer describes it in his plans, the refectory—was built a few years earlier than the Salle des Chevaliers, as it was finished by Raoul des Iles in 1215. It is rather more simple in design, more graceful in its proportions, and altogether more pleasing in its effect that the Salle des Chevaliers. Like the restored refectory, once a dormitory, which is exactly overhead, it was divided into two stages and many subdivisions during the time that the Abbey was a prison, and it suffered much in consequence.

The quadripartite vaulting of the two aisles is simple, and, like that of the adjoining hall, enriched at the points of intersection of the ribs with small bosses.

On the west side are two enormous fireplaces side by side with one large pyramidal chimney breast, and traces of yet another are to be found on the south wall.[1] Facing north as it does, with seven lofty windows on the north side and two on the east, the necessity for warmth is apparent.

There are traces of the former partial division of this Salle des Hôtes into two parts, the portion with the two fireplaces at the end was used as a kitchen in the seventeenth century. This explains the insertion of the now ruined third fireplace in the south wall, which seems to have been an after-thought. The main door has been altered from its original form and divided into two sections, and there are signs of alterations outside the door of various dates, but mostly of the seventeenth century. The subdivision of the latrine in the north wall seems to point to the fact that the division wall cut off two bays at the west end—the space being used as the kitchen—leaving a room of five bays with the chapel for the accommodation of guests. The original use of the room is

[1] Opposite the fourth bay from the west end.

uncertain. M. Paul Gout thinks it may have been the Pretorium, or justice-room of the abbots.

It became a refectory after 1629, and had been used before that time as a workshop for the plumbers, who, as Dom Le Roy says, there got ready their lead and their solder for the repair of the buildings, which were nearly all covered with lead : hence the name of the room so often used—Plomberie. At the end of the eighteenth century it was a sail-cloth factory, later on a warder's room, and lastly a soldiers' dormitory.

South of the main apartment is the private chapel dedicated to S. Madeleine, lately in part restored and glazed, sometimes known as the **Benedicite Chapel**, with a small square vestibule communicating by a staircase with the court of the Merveille, the Crypte des Gros Piliers, and, above this, with a small terrace-garden on the level of the apse of the church.

Some writers, following a manifest mistake made by Dom Le Roy, have thought that this chapel was after 1629 converted into a guest-chamber or Salle des Hôtes, but there is no trace of a fireplace or a large bay in the chapel. His description clearly refers to the Salle des Hôtes.

There is a double piscina in the chapel and a large aumbry, which once had three shelves.

The **Salle des Chevaliers** (L in plan B), so called from the middle of the fifteenth century, when Louis XI. created the Order of S. Michel, has been, from its equipment and arrangement, the subject of much discussion.

Viollet-le-Duc is of opinion that the room was the dormitory of the garrison in the thirteenth century. It may have been so for a time, but others have thought that for some time previous to 1469—the date of the creation of the Order of S. Michel—the Salle was used as the chapter-house of the Abbey ; but from its proximity to the Chartrier it was in all probability the Scriptorium at the time the monastery was famous for its literary output, and an excellent room for that purpose.[1]

The hall was begun by Raoul des Iles in 1215, and finished by 1220 by Thomas des Chambres, who also began the cloisters which form the floor above. As will be seen from the plan, the four aisles of which the hall

[1] This Salle, locally known for many years as the Salle des Piliers, was used as a weaving establishment during the prison *régime*.

Photochrom Co]

THE SALLE DES CHEVALIERS, MERVEILLE.

consists are of different spans, the two rows of columns nearest to the fireplaces being built immediately over the massive piers of the cellar below, and the other row—that near the raised gallery—being built upon the solid rock.

The columns, which are round, resting upon octagonal bases, are wonderfully wrought; so, too, are the graceful capitals, which have fared better at the hands of prisoners and other malefactors. Much of the delicate work in the bases of the centre row of columns, some of it almost too delicate considering the nature of the material, has been ruthlessly mutilated, and the more elaborate mouldings—consisting of a row of tiny bosses or pearls—have in some cases disappeared. In the capitals, which are boldly carved, the finer mouldings have escaped destruction, and the early thirteenth-century work calls for careful examination. The vaulting ribs are quite simple in character, and at the points of intersection are adorned with small bosses.

On the north side are two large fireplaces with massive pyramidal canopies, the topmost points of which are cleverly merged in the ribs of the vaulting; between the fireplaces are the mutilated remains of the monastic latrines, ingeniously supported in the spaces between the buttresses of this side of the Merveille. The windows are of various shapes—some round, others roughly triangular.

In the north-west corner is the staircase by which access is given to the Cellier below, and next to this the doorway leading to the staircase communicating with the Chartrier in the corresponding corner of the Cloister. The west wall here is lighted by a makeshift window of iron bars and plain glass, of which the only merit is that it keeps out the rain. This window was originally intended to be part of the vestibule to the apartment built out in part by Tustin in 1260, above which, on the west side of the cloister, was to be a chapter-house. There are traces of this continuation of the Salle des Chevaliers to be seen from the outside (See ill[n] p. 39.)

Beneath this window, to the left, is a passage of much earlier date—now leading nowhere—which gave access to the eleventh-century infirmary (E in plan B) which was built immediately over the old kitchens, and under the old dormitory of the same date. This passage, strange to say, has not been boarded up, but it should not be explored without a light.

The south side of the Salle des Chevaliers contains a raised gallery communicating with the old cloister or Promenoir of Roger II., and also with the large room now known as the Salle des Hôtes.

In the east wall near the window was formerly a door communicating with the staircase that led to the almonry below and the refectory above. The existence of this staircase almost looks as though the Merveille had not all been built at one time.

The space between the main entrance to the Salle des Chevaliers and the adjoining Salle des Hôtes bears many traces of the alterations carried out by the Benedictines from S. Maur, and the small apartments to the south of the passage are at present so filled with piles of débris from elsewhere that any examination of them is out of the question. This much is certain—that a great clearance will in time be made, and the seventeenth-century alterations all restored away to make room for twentieth-century approximations to thirteenth-century work.

The Cellier, or **Cellar,** which is entered by a staircase from the Salle des Chevaliers, is a long room comprising a central nave, with narrow aisles on either side, the square piers of which support the piers in the Salle des Chevaliers above. The vaulting of the south aisle is less acute than that of the aisle on the north. It is lighted entirely by five narrow windows on the north side, below one of which [1] is the space once occupied by a platform, movable like a drawbridge, containing the crane by means of which water from the spring of S. Aubert was hauled up as it was required, or, in times of siege, whenever it was possible. There was a wheel, or *poulain*, here for this purpose, which was once nearly the means of the capture of the garrison by the Huguenots under De Sourdeval and De Montgomery in 1591. Naturally there was a traitor, one Goupigny, in the business, and had he not, traitor as he was, been also traitor to his friends outside, the place would have been taken. Owing to his double treachery the Huguenots came up, unsuspecting for a while, by means of the rope, and were then led away and butchered in cold blood. After nearly eighty had come up, their friends, expecting some demonstration of success, asked for a sign, and in reply received

[1] The second from the end near the staircase.

hat seemed to be the dead body of a monk, but what was reality one of their own number dressed in monk's apparel.

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

THE CELLAR.

n the end the absence of any tumult or disturbance made De Montgomery suspicious, and he sent up a trusty follower,

by name Rablotière, to report. He was offered his life if would cry out that all was well, but his cry of "Treachery warned his already suspicious master, and the tale of slaughter caused by Goupigny's double-dealing came to an end. Rablotière's brave conduct made the governor spare him.

In the south wall are two large recesses like ovens; they may have been cupboards.

The door at the east end of this vast apartment now gives access to a garden which is on the site of the great cellar (*magnam cavam*) begun by Richard Tustin. On the next stage a continuation of the Salle des Chevaliers was planned, judging from the appearance of the window at the end, and above this was to be the chapter-house, for which an entrance was provided in the west alley of the cloister.

The **Almonry** (l'Aumônerie) (J in plan A) is the last portion of the Abbey buildings seen by visitors personally conducted by the guides. It is a long room 112 feet by 33 feet, forming the lowest stage of the Merveille. Unlike the Cellier, which is composed of a central nave and two narrow aisles, the almonry is divided longitudinally into two by six massive piers (with square capitals and bases), which support the vaulting. It will be obvious from an inspection of plan A that the single row of supporting piers was designed to support the corresponding row in the Salle des Hôtes which is immediately above it (K in plan B). On the north side only four of the seven original windows are open at the present time, the others having been built up and converted to various uses when the Abbey was a prison. On the walls are still to be seen traces of the partitions and the flooring timbers which divided this room into many subsections for the use of the prisoners.

M. Corroyer, in his excavations made in 1872, found traces of a furnace and scraps of an alloy which were supposed to be either of bell-metal or remains of coinage, dating from the time of the Hundred Years' war.

At the present time the flooring is in a very precarious condition, and apparently is at some few inches above the level of the original paving.

Attention should be given to the door which gives entrance to the Cellier. In monastic times it was so arranged with a double series of doors, one of which would have to be forced

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

THE ALMONRY.

or opened before the other could be touched, and large squa
beams, running into mortices in the wall, served as locks
each case. The door seems to have been at one time
external door, and therefore especially liable to attack.

In the corner to the left of this doorway is a door givi
access to a circular shaft which was to all intents and purpos
a lift. From the plan it will be seen that this shaft could
used for conveying water to the refectory (when it was us
as a dormitory), and to the lavatory in the south alley
the cloister, and it was used for the conveying of food, et
from the refectory to the Aumônerie, and probably from t
kitchens which at one time (fourteenth century) occupie
the space M in plan C.

In the opposite corner near the window is a staircase, i
the wall between the Aumônerie and the Cellier, which use
to give access to the Salle des Chevaliers,[1] and also by
stairway branching from this to a little doorway, or rath
window, overlooking the Aumônerie. In the passage on th
left by which visitors go out from the Aumônerie is a doorwa
which leads to the staircase in the Tour des Corbins in th
Cour de la Merveille.

Before leaving this court it is worth while to cast a glanc
upward, and to try and take in the vast expenditure of wor
and money involved in the completion of this stupendou
block of buildings, all of which is of surpassing interest, an
substantially as solid as it was when first finished.

As to the uses of these two rooms—now known, rightly o
wrongly, as the almonry and the cellar—it is easy to conjectur
but difficult to prove anything. The cellar is with mor
probability rightly called so, partly because of its situation, tha
which nothing could be cooler at all times of the year, partl
because there are additional vaults beneath the existin
floor, and also because there was here quite convenientl
placed the necessary means for hauling up provisions fron
the beach below and water from the well of S. Aubert.

The so-called almonry may have been used as such a
a time previous to the building of the other almonries, an
the name may have survived, just as the name of Salle de
Chevaliers has overshadowed the earlier name of Scriptorium

[1] The door from this staircase in the Salle des Chevaliers has now bee
walled up.

but it was not the regular almonry. Dom Le Roy, writing in 1509, refers to the almonry built by Guillaume de Lamps, and this was, from his description, to the south of the church between the south aisle and the Saut-Gaultier, and there was another almonry in the building known as the Fanils.

After 1591, the two cellars were known for many years as the Montgomeries, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were not used at all as cellars. In 1638, and again in 1711, the eastern cellar was used as a foundry for bell-casting, and the scraps of metal found by M. Corroyer in 1872 confirm this. Both cellars were subdivided into two stages and used as prisons from 1799 to 1863. In the fifteenth century money was minted by the monks by special permission of the King, and the coining may have been done here.

Though there is no chapter-house indicated in any of the plans, there must have been some room set apart for the necessary meetings of the Chapter, and for the meals which at certain seasons were taken there instead of in the refectory. For these purposes a large room was necessary, and it must have been near the kitchens. "Messieurs les Anciens," as Dom Le Roy calls the earlier Benedictines, had a kitchen between the church and their refectory (the earliest Benedictines having had theirs in the corner marked L in plan A), and the chapter-house may have been in the former case above the kitchen; though owing to the alterations made by the monks in the seventeenth century, M. Corroyer thinks the old dormitory (F in plan C) was used as a chapter-room, and its position bears out the idea. Later in 1670 it was known as the Salle de Souvré. In the time of the monks of S. Maur—never very numerous—it seems that a room called the *chambre commune* was used. It was situated on the site of the fourteenth-century kitchen, and had the library on the floor above. Dom Le Roy says it was a costly work because materials and haulage were dear, scaffolding was difficult to erect, and there was the trouble of destroying a more ancient building.

THE CRYPTE DE L AQUILON.

From a drawing by Ed. Corroyer.

CHAPTER VII.

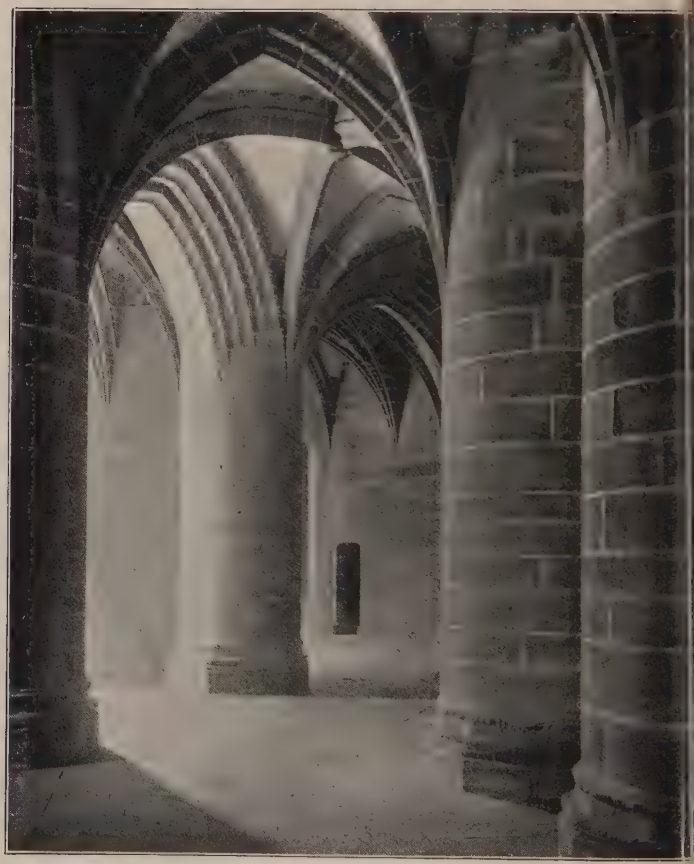
THE SUBSTRUCTURES.

BELOW the choir of the church, and of similar plan on the whole, is the crypt, well known as the Crypte des Gros Piliers. Sombre as it is at first sight, it is well worthy of study. As before mentioned, the piers, massive though they are, are full of grace. The massiveness is necessary, for these piers bear the pillars of the choir, which again support the roof; and their grace may be studied and admired when the eye is accustomed to the comparative gloom. The necessity for this lower church is apparent from an inspection of the section of the Mount, as given by M. Corroyer, where it forms the first—it is hardly to be called the ground—floor of the three stages of the apse.

The original apse, which was at the east end partly in ruins by the beginning of the fifteenth century, was found by Guillaume d'Estouteville to be on too small a scale for the building he was about to construct, and therefore the present apse was planned and was finished by 1450. As in the church above, the plan is not quite symmetrical, owing to the proximity of the Merveille on the one side and the space limitations of the main thoroughfare to the church on the other. The Mount had its *Vierge Noire*, and some have ascribed this lower church to it, but such ascription is not apparently based upon anything more than tradition. In comparatively recent times there was a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, known as the Madonna of Mount Tumba, placed here, but it has now been removed.

This lower church has many chapels of uncertain ascriptions. The first two bays on the north side are taken up by the fine entrance doorway and a water cistern of the fifteenth century, (shown at Y in plan B), and the corresponding bays on the

south contain one large cistern of the same date. Close to this latter, in the west wall, is a door giving access by a



Photochrom Co.]

THE CRYPTE DES GROS PILIERS.

irregular shaped passage to the former *Chapel of S. Martin*, which now contains a large cistern or reseivoir for water.

This chapel is immediately under the south transept, and can be reached from thence by the circular staircase in the west wall. In the corresponding position on the north there was a similar doorway from the crypt into the chapel under the north transept, but owing to the shape of the rock upon which the Mount is built, this was much narrower, and was blocked when the Crypte des Gros Piliers was built, and later a doorway was made in the apse by order of the Cardinal de Lorraine. Another means of entrance to this chapel was situated in the small apartment to the east of the so-called Promenoir (F in plan B). A spiral staircase, too, apparently communicated with the old dormitory (G in plan C). The ascription of this chapel is not quite certain, but it is generally called the Chapelle des Trente Cierges, either because it was the custom of the Benedictines to celebrate a mass daily here with *thirty candles*—a very necessary equipment for a chapel in this situation—or because it was used as a mortuary chapel.[1] It is very dimly lighted from the gallery which passes through the south side of the Salle des Chevaliers. This chapel is not shown to visitors, but it may be described as a lofty crypt divided into two bays by a massive vaulting rib.

Under the nave is the **Charnier** or *Burying-ground* (C in plan B), in which the mortal remains of deceased monks were interred in quick-lime, a practical and sanitary method, considering the limited space at the disposal of the surviving brethren. The area of this portion of the substructures is, as may be seen from the plan, considerable, and the passages or corridors are far loftier than would be imagined from the casual inspection that is possible for ordinary visitors. Almost in the centre of this area are the two main portions known as the Charnier, running from east to west, while at the north and south sides are the long corridors, with staircases at their eastern ends, by which access was possible from and to the nave of the church, which is immediately overhead. Between the Charnier proper and the south corridor is a curiously shaped passage with a kink in it (D in plan B), variously described as a cistern—probably from the fact that it once contained a cistern ; as a strong room—from the fact that the Abbey plate and other treasure is known to have been lowered

[1] See note, p. 102. M. Corroyer ascribes it to S. Symphorien.

into it for security; and as an *oubliette*, the favourite designation of any dark hole of which the appropriation is in doubt.

Photochrom Co.]

THE PRISONS.

At the southern end of the long passage (G in plan B) which gives access to the burying-place is another passage

to the east, and in it the staircase which, in the days when the nave was complete, was the way by which the dead monks were carried down to their place of interment. Parts of the flooring in this passage are unsafe, and must be undertaken with great caution—in fact, the way to it is barred, and visitors are not conducted thither at all.

The small flight of stairs near the barrier leads down to the series of apartments, or rather dens, grouped under the name of **prisons.** In truth they are a series of terrible places —so terrible, in fact, that they form the chief element in the mental impression carried away by the majority of visitors. The prison or den consisting of an archway cut in the wall is still called the *Cage de Fer*, though as a matter of fact it was mainly constructed of very massive timbers. In this miserable hole the wretch Dubourg, the gazetteer of Holland, dragged out an existence of a trifle more than a year, and died a raving madman in 1746. Louis XI. has been credited with the invention of the cage, but the fact is not certain.

Louis Philippe, when Duc de Chartres, saw the place in 1780, and is said to have wished to have it destroyed, but as a matter of fact it had been condemned by the Comte d'Artois, who later became Charles X.[1] Some descriptions of the cage give to it dimensions which do not tally with this semi-circular wall recess, but point to the fact that the Cage de Fer was an apartment some 20 feet in height, and about 12 feet square.

Other prisons there were, both on this floor and on the floor below, all equally terrible, and an inspection of them can only make one ask how it was possible to live, or rather exist, in them at all for any length of time. *Les deux Jumeaux* were perhaps the worst, where all were bad, and of them many thrilling stories are current. They are situated in the lowest stage of the works carried out by Robert de Torigni, as will be seen from the plan (A).

The Crypte de l'Aquilon, as the long gallery (M in plan A) is generally called, is thus mentioned in an account of the consecration of an altar to the Virgin Mary in 1156, two years after the election of Robert de Torigni. It is possible that the Chapelle des Trente Cierges was in this gallery, as Thomas Le Roy, after writing of the fire of 1112, says that

[1] "Memoires de Madame de Genlis."

the fire having burned everything in the chapel that wa called *des Trente Cierges*, "did not touch a wooden imag of the Virgin, nor the linen that was on her head, nor th feathers that she held in her hand. This chapel was situate under the aisle of the church on the north side, where th sacristy now is."[1] On the whole, his reference seems to fi in very well with the gallery, for it was strictly *de l'aquilo*

H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

STAIRS LEADING TO THE PROMENOIR.

(*i.e.*, exposed to the north), till the Merveille, built from 1203 to 1228, turned this gallery into a very sombre apart ment. It communicated with, and was no doubt an annexe to, the Promenoir or cloister overhead. It was a pleasant enough room, with an outlook on the gardens below and on the sea beyond.

[1] The site of the Chapelle des Trente Cierges is not altogether certain, and there is but the one definite statement quoted above that may help to fix its place. M. Jaques would put this chapel under the north transept.

This crypt (so-called) is about 60 feet long by 21 feet in width, with a simple groined vaulting, quadripartite; six of the bays are of the same size, but those to the west are considerably smaller. It is curious to note that the square moulded arches which support the vault have, probably owing to some slight settlement caused by earthquake shock or other strain, become separated from the vault in one or two places. Access is given to the Promenoir by a bold and simple staircase, which, with the east end of the crypt, has figured in the well-known scene in the opera of *Robert le Diable*.

The capitals and bases have a rugged simplicity and directness about them that is particularly charming. An obvious improvement here would be the excavation of the floor to its original level by removing the filth and rubbish that has accumulated during the last hundred years. This would be a restoration to which no one could make any objection.

In the south wall will be noted the three large recesses, which may have been fitted up as cupboards. Behind them is the solid granite rock of the Mount. The windows were originally round-headed, but were reduced to less than half their size by being bricked up in the time of the prisoners.

The **Promenoir**, or twelfth-century cloister of the monks about 97 feet in length (F in plan B), seems to have been originally covered with a wooden roof, which also formed the floor of the dormitory above. The nave wall fell in 1103 and utterly destroyed the dormitory. What was done to the damaged building is not stated, but after the fire of 1112 Roger II. is said by some, on the authority of a manuscript quoted in Neustria Pia, to have vaulted this Promenoir with stone.[1]

Now if Roger II. vaulted this cloister, the word *arcam* should clearly be *arcum*, but it is a doubtful passage, as another manuscript authority gives *aream*:

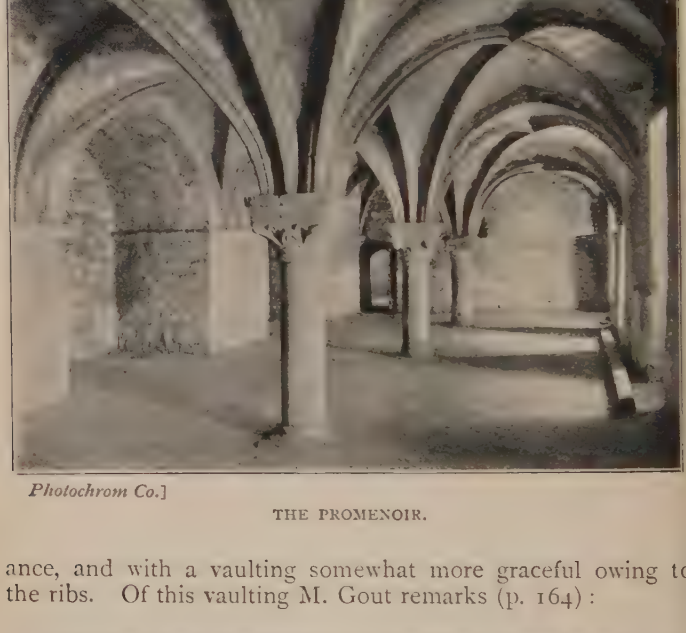
Insuper aream claustri quæ prius erat lignea lapideam fecit, et subtus ipsam aulam et cameras lapideas et in tertio ordine deorsum stabula equorum, fornicibus super fornices libratis mirabiliter, adaptavit.—MS. 18,947, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds franç. 145 Vo.

Roger II. left the Mount in 1122, and his planned work

[1] Rogerius sarta templi tecta instauravit, incendii damna reparans, claustri arcam de lignea lapideam faciens.—Neustria Pia, 326, 387.

may have been carried out by his successors. In any case, this Promenoir was the monastic cloister till the upper cloister in the Merveille was finished in 1228 or 1236.

As in the case of the so-called Crypte de l'Aquilon, which is underneath the western portion of the Promenoir, we can study the solid, simple, and direct architecture of the twelfth century in its two important stages—here less heavy in appear-



Photochrom Co.]

THE PROMENOIR.

ance, and with a vaulting somewhat more graceful owing to the ribs. Of this vaulting M. Gout remarks (p. 164):

> The builder, always dominated by the tradition of massive walls, previously made necessary by the tunnel vault, has so far no idea of lightening the walls by concentrating material at the points at which they meet the resultant of the various thrusts, which by his new system of construction are made to bear only upon certain precisely determined points. The discovery of the Gothic vault is accomplished, nothing remains but to deduce its consequences in the furtherance of a methodical refinement of

ne elements accessory to its stability. This will be the work of the hirteenth century, and we shall see its complete evolution in studying the uildings of the Merveille.

M. Jacques objected to the title of "Promenoir" being given o this part of the building, but he calls it the "infirmary loister"—the old infirmary with its latrines having been part of the eleventh-century buildings marked E in plan B. In hat sense it was a Promenoir. M. Corroyer calls it "Ancien Cloitre ou Promenoir." Formerly one of the recesses gave access to the early substructures of the nave.

This Promenoir, as well as the Crypte de l'Aquilon on the loor below, were turned into prisons even in the time of the monks of S. Maur in the seventeenth century, and the stair-case is of the same date.

With the construction of infirmaries elsewhere (*vide* J plan C) by Robert de Torigni, the Promenoir, as such, fell into disuse, and it was deprived of two of its eastern bays. The portion thus cut off was called the *Vestibule des Voûtes*.

At the eastern end, beyond this vestibule, a small vaulted chamber on the left will be seen. In shape it is a rectangle, and its four compartments of vaulting are supported by one single shaft in the centre. From the style of this chamber t must be of about the same date as the adjoining Salle des Chevaliers.

Under this general heading of "Substructures" must be briefly traced the long series of work of Robert de Torigni, or Robert du Mont, who was abbot from 1154 to 1186. Architect as he was, he took in hand the planning of additional buildings with a view to the accommodation of pilgrims and for the twenty extra monks introduced for the better performance of the divine ministrations of the place in general, and for the pilgrims in particular. From the general position of the then existing buildings he could not do otherwise than extend the buildings to the south, and the whole part now known as the *Plomb du Four* is honeycombed with his substructures. This name of Plomb du Four has given rise to much discussion. It has arisen, according to most authorities, from the fact that the *four* or oven of the Abbey was at this west end of the buildings. M. Corroyer, arguing from the fact that there was no such *four* because he found no traces of it, suggests

that the name is a corruption for *plomb du fond*. M. Jacque[illegible] arguing from an old engraving, derives the name from th[illegible] central porch of Robert de Torigni's west front, and he als[illegible] suggests that *four* may be connected with the prisons, f[illegible] which *four* was a mediæval term in common use.

However, taking the name as it is, it may be accounted fo[illegible] by the fact that there were kitchens in the lowest stage [illegible] the eleventh-century block of buildings (L in plan A), and ther[illegible] were kitchens on the level of the Saut-Gaultier in 1508, in th[illegible] "logis de l'Aumônerie où à présent on cuit le pain tant pou[illegible] les moynes, tant que pour les pauvres" (Le Roy, 519).

De Torigni's work consists broadly in the series of vaulte[illegible] passages leading southwards from the Crypte de l'Aquilon an[illegible] the Ancien Cloître or Promenoir, with the buildings buil[illegible] on to these passages towards the west, and the lengthenin[illegible] of the nave and the building of the two western towers an[illegible] the porch between them.

De Torigni was undoubtedly clever, but his building wa[illegible] not sound, and much of his work has perished. The weste[illegible] towers fell in 1300 and in 1720 respectively. His infirmarie[illegible] were used in the seventeenth century for the accommodatio[illegible] of the novices, but in 1817—when they were the femal[illegible] prisoners' quarters—the long-expected crash came: they collapsed, and in their fall threatened to bring much of the Plomb du Four with them. M. Corroyer's first work was t[illegible] shore them up with a view to the preservation of the rest, an[illegible] possibly the restoration of the whole.

The plans of the substructures given at the end show them on two levels—viz., that of the Promenoir (B), and that of the floor below (A). Portions only of these are at present inspected by visitors, and these chiefly for the sake of the prisons.

Chapel of S. Etienne.—This chapel, which is marked J in plan B, is situated above a large cellar, not too well lighted and difficult of access (Q in plan A). It is usually ascribed to Robert de Torigni, in spite of the words of a manuscript which tells us that this abbot built "les bastiments qui sont dessus et dessous la Chapelle S. Estienne." These words seem to point to the fact that there was a piece of earlier work which Robert de Torigni did not touch. The chapel, however, is undoubtedly of the thirteenth century, and its ascription by M. Paul Gout to the time of Raoul de

Villedieu is most probably correct—*i.e.*, from 1225 to 1236. The *raison d'être* of the chapel seems that it was the chapel for the novices, provision for whom was essential in any important monastery. Here, too, may have been their infirmary and their living rooms. This theory, originated by Monsieur V. D. Jacques, is borne out by the fact that the seventeenth-century Benedictines used these buildings in the very same way. The chapel communicated by a staircase in the south-west corner with the dismal apartment below.

Chapel of Notre Dame sous Terre.—To the east is the large chapel underneath the platform of Saut-Gaultier (C″) of which the ascription has been the subject of much unprofitable debate. M. Jacques assumes that it was the Chapel of Notre Dame sous Terre, others have called it the Chapelle des Trente Cierges. M. Corroyer calls the room Soubassements Romans, and M. Gout terms it the Soubassement de l'Eglise Primitive. It is possible that, as there are here some remains of very primitive building, with the alterations of a later date, this chapel was, as the chroniclers say, the *berceau* of the Abbey—in fact, a part of the original church of S. Aubert.

The chapel had formerly two altars—it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and also to S. Aubert—the one of which contained a piece of green marble said to have been used by S. Aubert as part of his altar. The other is said to have been the seat of the worship of the statue of the Virgin which according to tradition escaped destruction by fire in 1112, but being moved from its proper place was mislaid and forgotten, to be unearthed and set up again in 1694.

Photochrom Co.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RAMPARTS.

THE fortifications, to be properly understood, must be studied from the general plan D at the end of the book, reduced from that by M. Corroyer.

Originally the Abbey, which was always exposed to attack, was itself fortified, as the general plan sufficiently indicates. On the north side the thick walls of the Merveille were impregnable, assuming that the attacking force had scaled the precipitous rock. But as soon as the town began to be of any size its enemies destroyed it by fire, and on several occasions the firing of the town came very near to causing the destruction of the whole of the monastic buildings. In 1138 the inhabitants from Avranches, and in 1203 Guy de Thouars, fired the town, and destroyed practically everything that would burn. The damage thus done caused the abbots to think of strengthening the town and protecting it by walls, and this work was begun by Tustin, who was abbot from 1236 to 1264. He first fortified the well of S. Aubert—the outlying position of which was unfortunate, as its possession was the key to the place—joining it by a strongly built fortified staircase, of which the ruins still exist. Later on the Tour du Nord was undertaken, at the north-east corner of the walls, and finished before 1260. The *mâchicoulis*, which replaced the previous woodwork, formed a development in military architecture dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and inspired by the frequent destruction, accidental or intentional, of the wooden *hourds*, or temporary fighting boxes on the battlements.

Guillaume du Château (1299–1314), after rebuilding the town, destroyed in 1300 by a fire which (for this once) originated in the Abbey (*vide* p. 21), built the *fanils* or

granaries of the abbot at the south-west, finished the walls planned by Tustin, and appointed a keeper of the town gate by name Pierre de Toufou. The same abbot carried the walls towards the south, and then at right angles in a westerly direction—*i.e.*, towards the rocky escarpment on which are placed the range of abbatial buildings. With the completion of these works in 1314 the place was deemed worthy of being called a garrison and of being held for the king, and a single soldier with five subordinates was installed in the time of Jean de la Porte (1314–1334). Under his successor, Nicolas le Vitrier (1334–1362), who was the first of the abbots to combine the office of military governor with that of abbot, the then existing walls were somewhat altered in plan, so as better to withstand the attacks of the English, for the Hundred Years' war was just beginning.

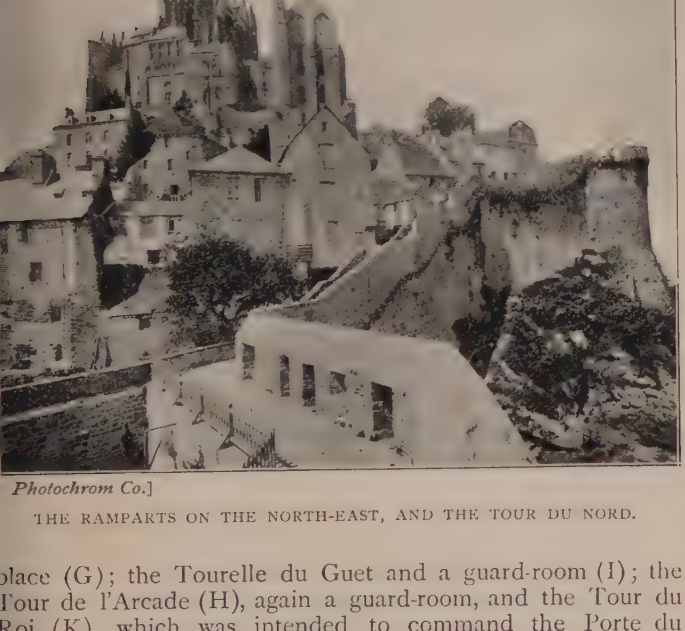
To prevent unauthorised strangers from introducing arms within the fortifications, Geoffrey de Servon obtained a decree from King Charles V., by the terms of which every one, with the exception of French princes, and later on (after 1469) the Knights of the Order of S. Michel, had to lay down all arms.

Under Pierre le Roy (1386–1411) the defences on the east were carried out effectually by the building of the *Tour Perrine*, followed by the work known as the Châtelet, which conceals from view the earlier entrance known as the Belle Chaise, and the wall which joins this part to the south-eastern corner of the Merveille. Then outside this Pierre le Roy built the barbican, modifying in so doing the ramparts on the north and on the west at this point. The finishing stroke to the walls here was the building of the Tour Claudine, which commanded both the ascent by steps from the town, and the footway marked B in plan D.

Pierre le Roy's successor was Robert Jolivet, who built the greater part of the existing walls extending from the Tour du Nord (sometimes known as the Tour Hubert or Tour Marillaud) to the Tour du Roi, and thence northwards in the line indicated by the Porte du Roi. These works of Jolivet satisfactorily explain the words of Thomas Le Roy who wrote that "la porte de la ville fut changée . . . elle fut mise là où elle est à présent."[1] The work thus carried out under the eyes

[1] It had previously faced Avranches—*i.e.*, towards the east.

of the English, who at this time held Tombelaine, comprised a wall from the Tour Claudine to the Tour du Nord (B), from which an excellent general view can be got; the bastion of the Tour Boucle (D), next the Tour Boucle itself (E); the Tour Basse (F), which, as its name implies, is situated some feet below the level of the pathway round the ramparts; the Tour de la Liberté, with its remains of a fire-



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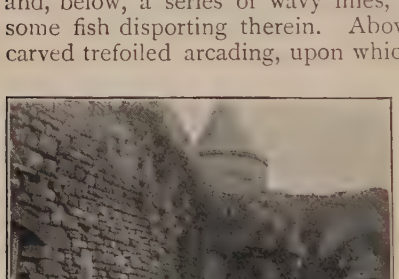
THE RAMPARTS ON THE NORTH-EAST, AND THE TOUR DU NORD.

place (G); the Tourelle du Guet and a guard-room (I); the Tour de l'Arcade (H), again a guard-room, and the Tour du Roi (K), which was intended to command the Porte du Roi and the town gate as well.

This Tour du Roi is partly concealed by a recently built annexe of the Hotel Poulard Ainé, a building which has for some reason been built up somewhat higher than the previously existing shed or stable. Close to it is the Porte de la Ville, which still shows traces of its original use. The moat has

long ago been filled up, but there are traces of the opening in the wall through which the drawbridge was worked, and the portcullis—worked from an upper room—still, in part at any rate, remains. Nowadays the guard-room is used as an *école communale*, and, when required, for meetings of the Mayor and the Town Council. The gate on the side nearest the sea, though restored, shows traces of what must have been heraldic carvings representing the arms of France, with two enormous angels as supporters, above the arms a crown, and, below, a series of wavy lines, representing the sea, with some fish disporting therein. Above the arms is a delicately carved trefoiled arcading, upon which are the richly moulded brackets supporting the projection of the lower edge of the machicolation above.



H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

A CORNER INSIDE THE RAMPARTS.

Passing for a moment inside and through the doorway, on the right is to be seen the steps giving access to the upper floor of the gateway and to the ramparts.

To the west—*i.e.*, in front of the Porte du Roi—the existing walls of the barbican were added by Louis d'Estouteville between 1425 and 1430. This addition consists of a wall which runs out in a westerly direction, and then turns back sharply at an angle of 60° towards the rock. The whole wall, which is in very good preservation, was pierced with loopholes and embrasures for small cannon, as was also the redan (marked M in plan D). All this part of the fortifications is best inspected from the footway in the Tour du Roi, as so much of the works, interesting as they are, lie hidden by modern dwelling-house property. They can also be examined from the rocks to the north-east of the present entrance, and the climb is worth the trouble. These extra defences of Louis d'Estouteville were, a century later, strengthened, or at any rate

extended, by Gabriel du Puy by the erection of (O) the Corps de Garde des Bourgeois, or the Porte de la Bascule with its (N) postern, and the wall from the Corps de Garde to the redan, and protected by a wooden palisade some few feet in advance, as shown by the dotted line in plan D. In this way, which now seems so obvious, the entrance by a hostile party was rendered extremely difficult, and the defence considerably simplified. This gate was sometimes called Porte Bavole, as it was mounted on a pivot, both for ease in opening and shutting it, and also for strength.

These additions had been rendered necessary by the more general use of artillery, such as it was, and the earlier work of the traitor Robert Jolivet was transformed into batteries by the mounting therein of guns, notably in the all-important points at the east, the bastion of the Tour Boucle, and, at the south, the Tour de la Liberté. In the seventeenth century, the place became Crown property, and later on a prison; and in 1731 large sums were spent on the fortifications.

Close to the entrance gate, under the wall, are *Les Michelettes* ("The Little Michaels"), the last two survivors of the battery of cannon left by the English when they retired in 1434. Some were sold, most of the rest were neglected, and in time were buried under an accumulation of sand and rubbish. From the method of their construction—a rudimentary shrinking on of coils outside a tube—they are veritable antetypes of the methods now in use, and would be likely to last for years if only protected by some kind of roof. It is quite right they should be here, but they are too interesting to be allowed to rot piecemeal away.

At the south-west of the Mount, to the left of the gate, is an uninteresting range of buildings on the site of the original stables and stores (or *fanils*) of the Abbey built by that great builder, Robert de Torigni, traces only of which survive, with traces of the fourteenth-century rebuilding works. The entrance was guarded by the Tour des Pêcheurs or Tour des Fanils, (P) sometimes known erroneously as the Tour Stéphanie, of which the base only, and that in part, is original work. These *fanils* comprised an important block of Abbey buildings, as here were situated the stables and store-houses. Their importance consisted in their proximity to the *poulain*, or inclined plane up which goods of all kind were hauled up to the receiving

room in the hostelry of Robert de Torigni. This *poulain* was to all intents and purposes the elevator or lift of the monks, and was a necessity of the place, as the pack horses and waggons, from the nature of the place, could only go by a zigzag road to the foot of the *poulain*. The idea seems quite modern at first sight, but Robert de Torigni was far in advance of his time.

From the importance of the *fanils* arose the necessity for their defence, and the Tour des Pêcheurs and the walls were for many years protection enough, being joined to the walls which practically encircled the whole Mount; but Gabriel du Puy, in his plans for strengthening the walls in 1534, extended the sea-wall and built the fort called after him, Tour Gabriel. It is in three stages, each of which is pierced for cannon with widely splayed embrasures, and contains a hollow central shaft which served as a ventilator, and also as a means for clearing off the dense fumes of the powder. On the battlements, which are of the traditional form, was a watch-tower, now used at certain times in the month as a lighthouse. There were doors of communication between the tower and the *fanils* in the uppermost stage, and a small postern, strongly protected with a portcullis, to give access to the sands.

In 1627, under the Benedictines from S. Maur, the prior set up a windmill on the tower, which for some time was known as the Tour du Moulin. Later, in 1793, the tower was sold and became private property, but in 1880, having become Government property, it was restored or rebuilt.

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THE PORTE DU ROI AND THE HOTEL POULARD AINÉ.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TOWN.

What was written of the town two hundred and fifty years ago is just as true now.[1] Mediæval as the town looks from the approach by land, it will be seen on closer inspection to have undergone of late, and to be still undergoing, the process of modernisation. The same close inspection will, however, reveal a large proportion of old and interesting work concealed under later additions, not always in perfect taste. The town claims to have been a town from very early times, but without going so far as to admit that it was a town in the tenth century, it may be assumed that given the Abbey, with its own walls, there was bound to be a small extra-mural settlement, originally fishermen, in the houses of which pilgrims could get what they wanted in the way of food and lodging.

Originally the town was entered at a point on the S. E. side, below the parish church of S. Peter, but with the finishing of the building of the Merveille in its present form in the early part of the thirteenth century, and the subsequent addition of Belle Chaise, the conformation of the town was changed and the long street practically took its present form, in outline at any rate.

As the fortifications were altered and improved, the town varied too, and developed, as far as it could within the rock that was unoccupied and the sea below. Passing through the Porte Bavole, the old guns left by the English in 1450

[1] Avant que vous arriviez à la porte chascun des bourgeois, à l'envi l'un de l'autre, vois ira an devant offrir son logis et toutes autres choses nécessaires pour le repos et contentement d'un pélerin lassé du chemin et peut-estre fatigué comme vous.—Dom Le Roy.

will be noted, and beyond is the Porte du Roi, which is best studied after the *petit déjeuner*, and before the strangers begin to arrive. Beyond this is the *Tour du Guet*, which judging from old prints, has lost much of its picturesqueness. Next the old fifteenth-century Hôtel de la Licorne, with its turret, spans the thoroughfare. Following the course of the street, which goes ever upwards, the various hostelries are passed, some bearing their old names,[1] others with names changed—*e.g.*, the Hôtel Tête d'Or is now really Hôtel S. Michel, but usually known as Poulard Ainé.

Passing the telegraph office, an incongruity which, though useful, seems somewhat to jar on one, the street leads onwards towards the church of S. Peter, with its little churchyard. Part of the eastern end is built over the thoroughfare in a picturesque way. The church was built, or rather finished, in 1440, but is not particularly interesting. From existing records it is known that there was a church on this site before, and a headless recumbent figure in a recess near the altar in the south aisle is the only visible relic of the earlier building. The place is full of incongruities. Built of granite the walls are disfigured with marble tablets and decked with theatrical-looking banners, as tawdry in workmanship as they are poor in design. Heraldic blazons, executed in the style common in hatchment-painting, further adorn the roof. Low pews give a good view of a Corinthian altar-piece. Some of the granite memorial tablets in the floor date back to 1617—the earlier ones having probably been converted into flagstones—and there are others in the churchyard. There is something very touching in these simple stones—just the deceased's name in bold capitals (standing out well from the field, which is sunk about half an inch), with occasionally the date, or perhaps a chalice and a cross.

Almost at the top of the ascent is the house which traditionally is that formerly used by Tiphaine de Raguenel, the accomplished wife of Bertrand du Guesclin. The site may be the site of Tiphaine's dwelling, but that is all that can be said. Some have put the house further to the south, near the site

[1] Le Soleil Royal, les Trois Rois, la Sirène, le Soleil Levant, Cheval Noir, Hotel de l'Espée d'Or, le Pot d'Étain, la Tête Noire, le Dauphin, la Truie qui File, les Quatre Fils Aymon, le Pigeon Blanc, les Trois Sauciers, le Plat d'Étain, la Croix Blanche.

of the ruined chapel of S. Catharine marked S in the plan of the Mount (D).

Pilgrimages to the Mount began as early as 710, and were carefully fostered as a source of revenue, though of course the spiritual attendance on the pilgrims involved an extra staff of clerical helpers. Of Charlemagne we are told that—

> Au mont s'en va le bon roy de saison
> A Saint Michel faire son oraison ;

and from his time to the end of the eighteenth century the human tide, at times intermittent, at others low, at others extremely high, flowed on, full of faith and hope.

Many of the earlier pilgrims were ecclesiastics, such as Lanfranc, S. Anselm, S. Vincent-Ferrier, Bishops Rolland of Dol, Robert, and Huynes the Archbishop of Rouen, Cardinal Rolland, afterwards Pope Alexander III. (1159), Cardinal Octavien, who was antipope Victor IV.

Abbots from every European country came to the Mount, and many are the names in Bouquet's lists of the foreign dignitaries who must have come to sleep their last sleep at the Mount. Of the Dukes of Normandy who came in pilgrimage, were Rolf, William Longsword, Richard I. (the Fearless), Richard III and Geoffrey. Conan, Duke of Brittany, was buried at the Mount in 1004. Richard II. (the Good), met Ethelred of England here and married Judith of Brittany. Robert the Magnificent made peace here in 1030 with Alan III. of Brittany.

Among our English kings who visited the Mount was Edward the Confessor in 1048. Harold, who fell at Hastings in 1066, is shown in the Bayeux Tapestry helping the Norman soldiers out of the treacherous sands. William the Conqueror and his three sons who succeeded him also came, so too Henry II., the murderer of Becket, on two occasions—in fact, it was Abbot Robert de Torigni who made the King's peace with an offended Church at Avranches.

From the list of French kings who came here, it is enough to mention Louis VII. (1158); S. Louis, twice, (1256 and 1264); Philippe le Hardi (1271); Philippe le Bel (1311); Charles VI. (1393); Charles VII. (1424); Louis XI., thrice—viz., 1462, 1469, and 1472 (to him is due the institution of the Order of S. Michel); Charles VIII. (1487); François I. (1518); and in

1532 the infamous Charles IX.; Henri III. (1561); Charles X. (as Comte d' Artois) (1777).

Pilgrimages were made by humbler folk as well from all parts, and there are mentioned in the chronicles cases of sick people from out-of-the-way places in Ireland, Cornwall, Shropshire, and in Germany, who came to the Mount to get cured of their diseases. About the year 1333 pilgrimages of children, who seem to have worked themselves into a very excitable state, began to throng to the Mount. These pilgrimages were called *pastoureaux*, and were not altogether popular with the children's elders. Theologians wrote against the practice with no gentle words, and references to the children in contemporary writings are not flattering.

M. de Viriville, in his edition of Alain Chartier (vol. iii. p. 317), quotes that "Monseigneur le Régent, pour argent donné aux galopins de la cuisine, pour aller au Mont S. Michel, au temps de caresme, mercredi 5 février (1421), argent, 16 sous."

Those who ridiculed the children are said to have suffered all kinds of plagues. One especially offensive woman of Chartres was for some time possessed by an evil spirit.

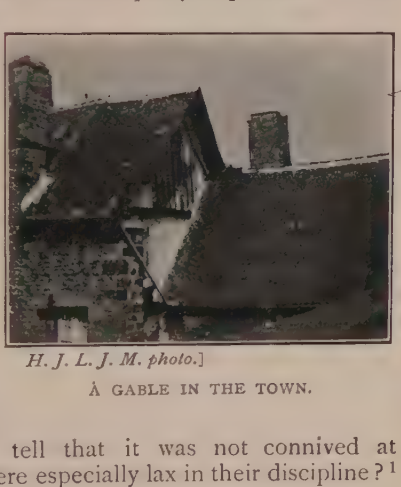
Grown-up pilgrims sometimes fared badly on their way and fell among thieves, and it required the thunders of a papal bull to put a stop to such attacks on the devout.

At first the pilgrims chipped off pieces of S. Aubert's shrine and tomb to take home with them as mementoes of their journeying. There was necessarily a limit to this, and granite being hard to chip and somewhat heavy, the shells on the sands were adopted as substitutes. Being fragile, lead and pewter castings of shells came into almost universal use, and the trade in these, as in that of little ampullæ and sometimes little horns in the same metals, became a profitable monopoly at the Mount. Badges representing the discomfiture of the Dragon, the figure of Notre Dame Gisante de Tombelaine —another favourite spot for pilgrimage—were also made and sold. The sale was so large that the kings of France taxed the sellers[1] of these articles at "douze deniers par livre," but

[1] They are referred to in a charter as the "povres gens demourans au Mont Saint Michiel, faisans et vendans enseignes de Monseigneur Saint Michiel, coquilles et cornez qui sont nommez et appellez quien-caillerie, avecques autre euvre de plon et estaing getté en moule, pour cause des pelerins qui illec viennent et affluent."

t was remitted by Charles VI. at his visit in 1393. These clever people alleged that they could not get a living any other way, and naïvely suggested that the pilgrimages might suffer by the fact that there were no badges, etc., for the pilgrims to take away with them.

There is a sad side, unfortunately, to the story of the pilgrims. Almost in every month of the year pilgrims met their death in the treacherous sands which surrounded the Mount. The entries in the monastic records are painfully frequent and they are generally "peregrini . . . utriusque sexus *submersi* sunt," or else "*absumpti* sunt," both words equally expressive of the death they died, and the chronicler added "Quorum numerum et nomina Deus scit," or the more general formula, "Requiescant in pace."



H. J. L. J. M. photo.]

A GABLE IN THE TOWN.

There is evidence, too, that there was another side to the accounts of the early pilgrimages. Overcharging, or perhaps double charging, was the rule, and it was probably felt to be a difficult matter to regulate officially. Who can tell that it was not connived at under those abbots who were especially lax in their discipline?[1]

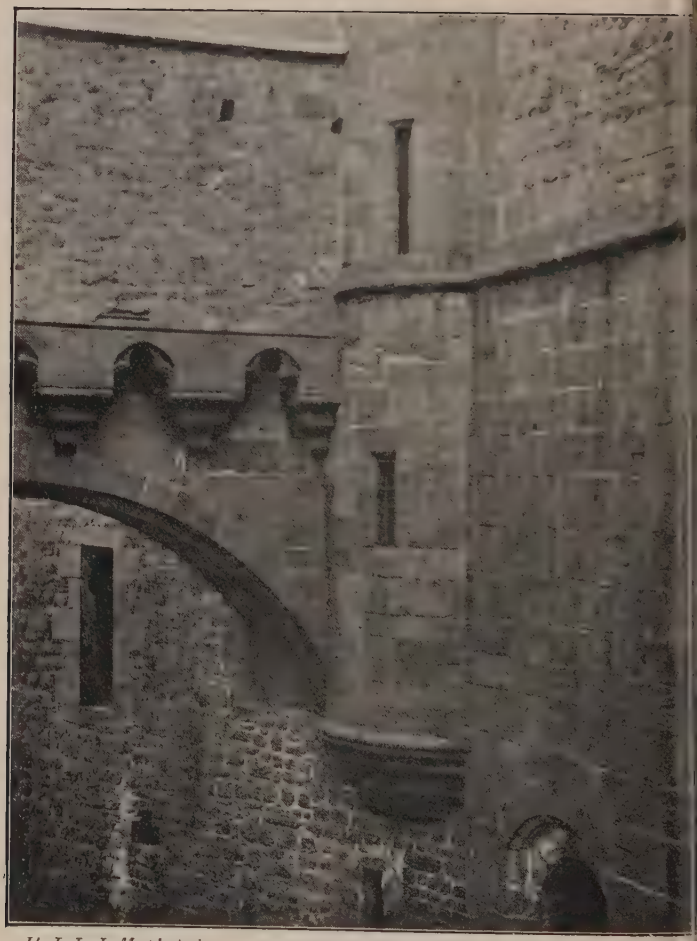
[1] From a writing transcribed by Dom Le Roy in 1647 we find the same state of things. He says that complaint was made "que plusieurs bourgeois de la ville . . . font pactions et prests usuriers avec certains Gogluz pour les obliger à leur amener les pèlerins: par ce moyen ostent la liberté à iceux de loger où bon leur semble et par vexation inouye, les tiennent renfermis en des chambres jusques à ce qu'il ayent achepté a leur tan de leurs denrees et bimblotages et en oultre leur survendent le pain, vin et cydre, à prix excessif, ce que font les dits bourgeois . . . afin d'eu payer deux sols pour livres à leurs dits Gogluz qui par ce moyen, reçoivent double prix et salaire de leur gogluage, et se font encore norrir par les dits pèlerins au grand scandalle de toutte sorte de gens affluents en ce lieu." This matter was settled by the archdeacon of the Mount reserving to himself the right

Most of the modern pilgrims or visitors arrive in the after noon, sup or dine, take a hasty breakfast in the morning spend one hour in the Abbey with a guide, and get away earl in the morning; or else they arrive in the morning, dine early go round the Abbey as usual in one short hour, and go awa again by the evening train. How differently reads Dom L Roy's account of a visit of "la haulte, illustre et puissante dame Madame Marie de Bourbon et d'Estouteville, duchesse, vin en voyage en l'église de ce Mont S. Michel par dévotion: le prieur et moynes de ce lieu allèrent au devant, à l'heure d huit heures du matin précisément, en chappes, avec la croi jusques à la porte de la bailliverie et sur les neuf heures il reçeurent la dite dame et tous ses enfants sçavoir trois fils e quatre filles suivis de plus de 300 personnes, partie de quo estoit de grande calité: ayant assisté tous trés dévotement la grande messe, pris leur disner an logis abbatial et veu tou le monastère ils sortirent de ce lieu à trois heures et demy apres midy."

Tourists have now, for better or for worse, taken the place of the old-time pilgrims. They come from far and near, and possibly endure more discomforts crowded into the one comparatively short journey than a band of pilgrims en countered in a week. Fancy the feeling of a fourteenth century pilgrim had he been told that five centuries later the journey from Paris to the Mount would be accomplished fo the most part in the dark of night, in a carriage made mainly of iron, with very wooden seats, with nine other companions some accompanied by children, and that on the return journey the conditions would be rather worse.

Nowadays these "pilgrims" occasionally manage to depar in the crowd without paying at all, to the detriment of the hotel folk. This perhaps is only to be expected when your landlord asks you to tell him how long you have stayed in his house, and what you have had to eat and to drink. Dom Le Roy quotes the case of a man who had no money to pay his account, and states that his bill was settled *miraculeuse ment*; but the day for these miracles is now passed.

of giving or refusing absolution in such cases, and forbidding (by arrange ment) the other priests in the Mount to give absolution. Thus the *gogluage* was stopped.



H. I. L. J. M. photo]

THE ABBOT'S BRIDGE.

CHAPTER X.

ABBOTS.

Maynard I. (966-991). The first of the Benedictines instituted by Richard the Fearless, "un homme fort grave et de saincte vie." He was also "nay de parens de haute condition," and had been abbot of Fontenelle; but he came originally to the Mount as an ordinary monk.

Maynard II. (991–1009), nephew of Maynard I. He rebuilt the monastery, which was burned down in 1009.

Hildebert I. (1009–1017), "virum divino micantem privilegio," set up a cross half-way between the Mount and Tombelaine. He was buried in the garden at the east end of the Crypt des Gros Piliers.

Hildebert II. (1017-1023), nephew of Hildebert I. The first architect abbot; he was buried next to his predecessor.

Almod (1023–1031). Retired and died at Cérisy-la-Forêt.

Theodoric (1032 1033). Abbot only for a few months.

Suppon (1033–1048). He was obliged to retire for having conveyed a mill at Moulin-le-Comte, given to the Mount by Robert the Magnificent, without the consent of the latter or of the Chapter. He died 1061.

Ranulphe (Raoul) de Beaumont (1048–1058). Died at Jerusalem, 1058.

Ranulphe de Bayeux (1060 1084). The Charnier is attributed to him, and some scheme of fortifications on the north side of the Mount.

Roger I. (1084–1102). A chaplain of William the Conqueror who was thrust upon the unwilling monks. He retired to England and died there in 1112.

Roger II. (1102–1122). Appointed and deposed by Henry I., Duke of Normandy. He retired to Jumièges, from which he came originally, and died there in 1124.

Richard de Mère (1123–1130). A monk of Cluny, who

appropriated the funds of the Abbey. Cited to appear befo the King of France and the Papal legate, he retired witho offering any defence, and died at S. Pancrase-Laquis.

Bernard de Bec, or **le Vénérable** (1131–114 Formerly prior of Crémont. He rebuilt the church or cell Tombelaine for a prior and two monks. He also rebuilt t nave at the Mount, and built a tower which soon afterwar fell down. He was buried in the nave.

Geoffroy I. (1149–1150). He was buried in the nave ne to Bernard, his predecessor.

Richard de la Mouche (1150). Quarrelled for four yea with

Robert Hardy (1150), a former cellarer of the Abbey Fécamp. Many disturbances took place, which were settle by the election of

Robert de Torigni or **Robert du Mont** (1154–1186 "Ses enterprises le firent chérir des roys, révérer des reynes, généralement aymer de tous." He increased the number the monks from forty to sixty. In his time he was known a the **Grand Libraire du Mont**, and the Abbey was know as the Cité des Livres. He was buried under the west porc of the church.

Martin de Furmendeio, or **Fulmède** (1187–1191) He was buried next to De Torigni. Both tombs were foun in 1875.

Jourdain (1191–1212). He commenced the Merveille and was buried at Tombelaine.

Radulphe des Iles (1212–1218). He is thought t have worked chiefly on the Salle des Hôtes and the Salle des Chevaliers.

Thomas des Chambres (1218–1225). He is said t have finished the Salle des Chevaliers, and to have com menced the cloister.

Radulphe or **Raoul de Villedieu** (1225–1236). He completed the cloister.

Richard Toustain, or **Tustin** (1236–1264). "Feciti bellam caram, incepit novum capitulum, et novum opus subtus bellam caram," *i.e.* he built Belle Chaise. He was the first mitred abbot. He was buried in the nave.

Nicolas Alexandre (1264–1271). He was buried in the north transept near the altar dedicated to S. Nicolas.

Nicolas François Fanegot (1271–1279). He was buried by the side of his predecessor.

Ranulphe II. (de Borgueio). (1279–1280).

Jean le Faë (1280–1298).

Guillaume du Château (1299–1314). He began to rebuild what was destroyed in the fire of 1300. He was buried in the nave.

Jean de la Porte (1314–1334). "Valde profuit in ædificando." Under him the monastery and the Mount were first held for the King. He was buried in the south transept near the altar he had dedicated to St. John the Evangelist.

Nicolas le Vitrier (1334–1362). The first military governor and abbot.

Geoffroy de Servon (1363–1386). Built much of the abbatial buildings and the chapel of S. Catharine. He obtained the King's leave to compel all visitors to leave their arms at the gate. In his time young men were trained at the Mount and sent away to various universities "ad acquirendam scientiæ margaritam." He was buried in the nave.

Pierre le Roy (1386–1411). "Le roy des abbés." Another energetic builder, to whom the extra fortification of the Châtelet is due. He was buried at Bologna.

Robert Jolivet (1411–1444). A clever engineer, who spoiled his record by going over to the side of the English. He died at Rouen in 1444 and was buried at S. Michel du Viel Marché.

Jean Gonault (1444–1446). Formerly prior; he had been Vicar-General, but acted as abbot for a time only. Louis d'Estouteville had been appointed military governor in 1425, and secured the Abbey for his brother—

Guillaume d'Estouteville (1444–1482). The builder of the crypt and the choir.

André de Laure (de Vessilly) (1482–1499). Was prior of Pontorson. He finished the windows of the choir and glazed them with stained glass. He spent much of his time in Paris. He was buried in the south transept in front of the altar of S. Sauveur.

Guiliaume de Lamps (1499–1510). "C'estoit chose admirable de voir le soin que prenoit ce bon abbé dans un siècle corrompu à faire réparer l'eglise de ce monastère et si

diligemment." He was buried on the south side of th central chapel of the apse.

Guérin de Laure (1510–1513), brother of André l Laure. Was an absentee for the most part, residing at Brion Buried in the Abbey.

Jean de Lamps (1513–1523). The last of the regula abbots. He completed the choir in 1521. He was buried in the chapel of Notre Dame in the apse.

Jean le Veneur (1524–1539). Cardinal, Archbishop o Lisieux. "Dieu . . . lui fasse misericorde et nous octroye l faveur de n'avoir jamais d'abbé semblable a celuy-là."

Jacques d'Annebault (1539–1558). Cardinal, Archbisho of Lisieux. The choir was elaborately decorated by the monk in 1547–8. "Nos moynes de ce temps-là perdoient leu abbaye."

François le Roux (d'Anort) (1558–1570). He resigne when ordered to do the necessary repairs.

Arthur de Cossé (Brissac) (1570–1587). Bishop o Coutances. The Huguenots under Touchet got possession of the town, but were driven out by La Moricière.

François de Joyeuse (1588–1615). Cardinal, Archbisho of Rouen. The town was again taken by Montgomerie.

Henri de Lorraine (de Guise) (1615–1641). Son of the Duc de Guise and Catherine de Joyeuse. He was under five years of age when made abbot.

Jean Ruzé d'Effiat (de Cinq-Mars) (1642).

Jacques de Souvré (1643–1670).

Etienne Texier de Hautefeuille (1670–1703).

Jean Frédéric Karg de Bedimbourg (1703–1719). A bell presented by him is still at the Mount.

Charles Maurice de Broglie (1721–1760). Secured the abbacy in exchange for six hundred bottles of Burgundy.

Etienne Charles de Léoménie de Brienne (1760–1769). Archbishop of Toulouse.

Louis XV.

Louis XVI. (1774–1788).

Louis Joseph de Montmorency-Laval (1788–1789).

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10 metres = 11 yards approximately.

PLAN A—LEVEL OF THE SUBSTRUCTURES.

A Tour Claudine.
B Barbican and entrance court of Abbey.
C The Châtelet.
D Salle des Gardes (Belle Chaise).
E Tour Perrine.
F F Offices of Steward and Bailiff.
G Abbots' lodging.
G' G' Abbatial buildings with Chapel of S. Catharine.
H H Stairway to the Church.
I Courtyard of the Merveille.
J Aumônerie.
K Cellier.
L Site of ancient Kitchen (eleventh century).
M Crypte de L'Aquilon.
N Hostelry built by De Torigni.
O O Passage between the Hostelry and the monastic buildings.
P P' Prison-cells.
Q Cellar below the Chapel of S. Etienne.
R } Inclined planes for hoisting goods,
S } provisions, etc.
T Modern wall of abutment.
U U U Open spaces or communications.
V Body of rock.

REFERENCES ON PLAN B.

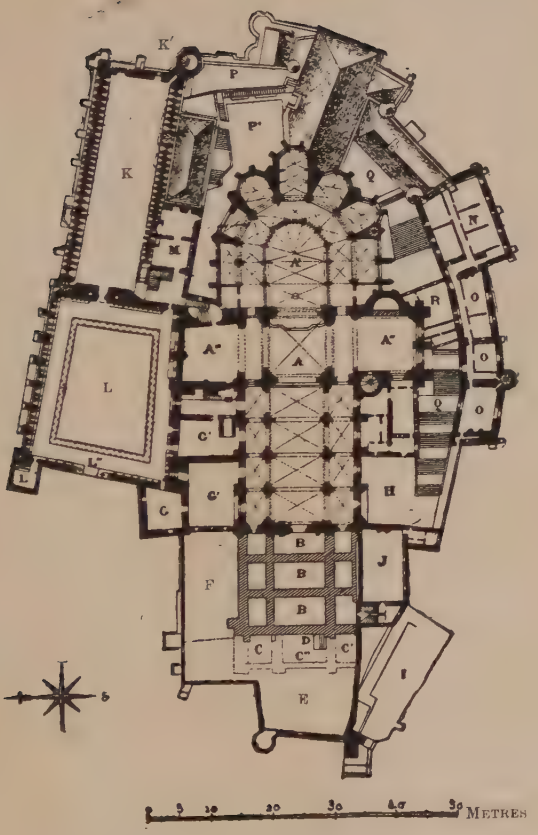
A Crypte des Gros Piliers.
B Chapel of the Trente Cierges (?), or S. Symphorien.
B′ Chapel of S. Martin.
C C′ Charnier, or burying-place.
C″ Primitive chapel known as Notre Dame sous Terre.
D Passage described as a cistern.
E Refectory (eleventh century).
F Promenoir.
G Main access to the Charnier.
H Hostelry } built by De Torigni.
I Offices }
J Chapel of S. Etienne.
K Salle des Hôtes.
K′ Tour des Corbins.
L Salle des Chevaliers.
M Benedicite or S. Made'eine' Chapel. [Officiers
N Salle du Gouvernement (or de
O Tour Perrine.
P Battlements of Le Châtelet.
Q Courtyard of the Merveille.
R Stairs.
S Terrace garden.
T Cour de l'Église.
U Abbots' Bridge.
V Abbots' lodging.
X Abbatial buildings.
Y Y Y Cisterns. [Church
Z Staircase from the Charnier to th
Z′ Body of Rock.

10 metres = 11 yards approximately.

PLAN B—LEVEL OF THE CRYPTE DES GROS PILIERS AND SALLE DES CHEVALIERS.

REFERENCES ON PLAN C.

A A′ Abbey Church.
A″ A″ Transepts.
B B B Site of De Torigni's Nave.
C C′ C″ Site of destroyed western towers and porch.
D Site of Tomb of Robert de Torigni.
E Terrace
F Salle de Souvré, anciently the Dormitory.
G G′ Claustral buildings.
G′ G′ Old Dormitories.
H Saut-Gaultier.
I Remains of De Torigni's Hostelry.
J Site of Infirmary.
K Refectory.
K′ Tour des Corbins.
L Cloister Court.
L′ Chartrier, or muniment-room.
L″ Entrance to intended Chapter House.
M Site of Kitchen (fourteenth century), afterwards Library.
N Abbots' lodging.
O O O Guests' lodgings.
P Courtyard of Merveille.
P′ Open space.
Q } Great Stairway leading upwards to
R } the church.



10 metres = 11 yards approximately.

PLAN C—LEVEL OF THE CHURCH AND CLOISTER.

REFERENCES ON PLAN D.

A S. Aubert's Well (site of).
B Tour du Nord.
C ,, Claudine.
D Bastion of Tour Boucle.
E Tour Boucle.
F ,, Basse.
G ,, de la Liberté.
H ,, de l'Arcade.
I Tourelle du Guet.
K Tour du Roi.
L Porte du Roi.
M ,, du Boulevard.
N ,, de la Bascule, *or* Porte Bavole.
O Corps de Garde des Bourgeois.
P Tour des Pêcheurs, *or* des Fanils
Q Tour Gabriel, *or* du Moulin
R Logis du Roi (now the Mairie).
S Chapelle Ste.-Catharine (site of).
T ,, S. Aubert.
V Churchyard.
X X Rue du Château.

a a Old fortifications.
b b Old footways or chemins de ronde.
c c Fanils or granaries.
d *Poulain* or inclined plane of De Torigni.
d' Eighteenth-century *poulain*.
e Traces of early buildings.
f f Terrains and gardens of the Abbey.

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PLAN D—GENERAL PLAN OF THE MOUNT.

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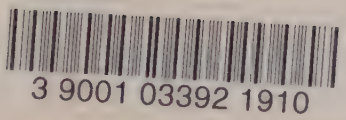
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